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ABSTRACT

This questionnaire survey of the interracial attitudes of a representative sample of 638 black youths in Washington, D. C. in 1968 replicates a similar one done in 1966, and compares 1968 patterns with 1966 patterns. In addition it concerns itself with identification, political views, vocational aspirations and expectations. The basic findings are that willingness for personal associations with whites decreased slightly between 1966 and 1968, but remained on the positive side of the scale. Black awareness increased although the preponderant majority chose the term 'Negro' rather than 'Black' for self-identification. Political stance was primarily moderate, with most considering themselves 'American', contributing to a picture of dual identity in both the drive and drift toward first-class citizenship. Dropouts continued to be less accepting of whites than in-school youth although the gap became smaller by 1968. With the diversity of sentiment and inclination, a rationale can be found for almost any kind of racial reform program, pluralism appearing to be the most acceptable and democratic. The schools, as only one of the major national institutions, cannot by themselves achieve such a complicated societal goal, but can route their programs in the desired direction. (Author/CJ)

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WILLINGNESS OF NEGRO HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS AND DROPOUTS TO ASSOCIATE WITH WHITES

Sophia F. McDowell, Ph.D.
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

September 1970

U. S. Department of
Health, Education, and Welfare

Office of Education
Bureau of Research

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WILLINGNESS OF NEGRO HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

AND

DROPOUTS TO ASSOCIATE WITH WHITES

SUMMARY

This is a report of a questionnaire survey of the interracial attitudes of a representative sample of 633 Washington, D. C. Black youths in summer 1968. Data were collected for the entire population and for six subsamples based on sex and school status. Two hundred and sixty-eight were seniors in academic high schools; 215 were seniors in vocational high schools; 155 were enrolled in programs for high school dropouts. This survey replicates a similar one in 1966 and is followed in 1969 by a series of interviews with a varied subsample of 22.

The study compares 1968 patterns of willingness to associate with whites with 1966 patterns. It also has some new concerns, e.g., the sample's racial and class self-identification, their views on certain political-racial issues, and their vocational aspirations and expectations. A non-statistical perspective on the personal dynamics of interracial attitudes is provided by individual depth interviews.

A theoretical purpose of this study is to reassess sociological generalizations developed in 1966 concerning the nature of minority group prejudice, its antecedents and influences.

1968 hypotheses focus on: 1) the persistence of willingness of Negro youth to associate personally with whites, despite the changed interracial climate; 2) situational differentials with regard to this willingness, favoring the less intimate activities; 3) race composition differentials favoring activities which involve a preponderant number of Blacks; 4) sex differentials in willingness, with females being generally more willing than males; 5) socio-economic gradations in willingness, from an academic high, through vocational intermediate to a dropout low; 6) importance of interracial criteria in selecting white associates, and continued relevance of the contingency factor in minority group prejudice (i.e., the 1966 thesis that the Negro's interracial disposition was dependent upon his assessment of white predisposition); 7) race self-identification mainly as "Black" rather than "Negro"; 8) class self-identification mainly as "middle class"; 9) self-identification differentials in willingness to associate with whites, with self-identified "Blacks" being generally less willing than "Negroes"; 10) greater acceptance by self-identified "Negroes" than "Blacks" of racial policies of mainstream American society.

The basic findings are that willingness for personal associations with whites decreased slightly but consistently from an overall 1966 index of 3.16 on a 0 to 4 scale to 3.07 in 1968. It remained clearly on the positive side of the scale. Black awareness was evidenced in several ways, such as choice of the term 'Black' in self-identification (by only about one-third in the questionnaire, but by more than two-thirds in the follow-up interviews) and the expressed concern with collective racial problems. Nevertheless the preponderant ethnic self-identification was "Negro" (almost two-thirds) along with "American" (almost three-fourths) and middle class (over half). The main stance with regard to political goals and methods was moderate. These facts contribute to a picture of dual identity in both the drive and the drift toward first class citizenship.

Our respondents discriminated sharply among the fifteen different activities for which they indicated the extent of their willingness to associate interracially. The range was from a high of 3.70 for schools which were predominantly Negro but included a few whites to a low of 1.67 for interracial marriage. The acceptability of white teachers continued at the 1966 level (mean score: 3.56) while that of white coworkers and job supervisors (3.33 and 3.12 respectively) declined from 1966 levels; close friends among whites retained an intermediary position on the list, (3.39) while dating and marriage, though up from 1966 averages, still were low on the list (2.48 and 1.82).

Even more than in 1966, there was a rejection of situations with a numerical preponderance of whites (2.42) compared to those same activities with a Black majority (3.55). This applied not merely to churches (2.53 vs. 3.51) and clubs (2.36 vs. 3.48) but significantly, in view of our and the nation's special concern with education, to schools (2.48 vs. 3.67).

Greater homogeneity of attitude among the young population seemed to have developed by 1968. While dropouts continued to be less accepting of whites than in-school youth (averaging 44 per cent compared with 55 per cent completely willing) the gap between the two subgroups became smaller (12 percentage points in 1968, 20 in 1966). (Exceptional cases were dating and marriage, where an increase in in-school willingness coupled with a decrease in dropout willingness actually widened the gap.) The differential between male and female also declined but to a lesser extent, in the two year period.

The 1968 questionnaire included a list of twenty statements on racial issues with which each respondent indicated on a 0 to 4 scale, the degree of his agreement or disagreement. These data reveal a full mixture of consonant and dissonant sentiments with regard to race. There was a sense of racial identification and concern with the Black predicament, but no one exclusive way of being pro-Black, and no invariable or necessary relationship between being pro-Black and

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To the Office of Education, Division of Comprehensive and Vocational Education Research we are grateful for two grants which supported this study, and to Howard University for a supplemental grant.

This project benefitted from the participation of staff members who far exceeded the formal requirements. Crucially important were two associates, Doris A. Dockett, our research coordinator, whose unique copability includes problems of substance and of form, of people and of machines, and Janet M. Silard, Research Associate and Editor, whose creative, challenging contributions also outlasted and outweighed the provisions of our budget.

Among the many Howard University student co-workers, we are particularly indebted to Stephanie Garrett, Conrad Henry, and Jimmie Powell, who skillfully bridged two populations: the research sample and the research staff.

Thanks is also due the 638 young people who opened themselves up to questionnaire and interview, and to the personnel who introduced us to them: John D. Koontz, Assistant Superintendent, Public Schools of the District of Columbia, and Morton J. Sobel, Director, School Desegregation Program; to Clifton Flood, Director, Pre-Vocational Training Center, and Iris Rache, Counsellor, Neighborhood Youth Corps.

Final responsibility for this report rests with the principal investigator. It is not without trepidation that any person, particularly a white one, reports on Black attitudes in today's volatile racial situation.

Her hope is that this report will help to stimulate educational attention in an area where all the facts are not in (and never will be) but are sufficiently known to warrant vigorous action.

mentioned. These multiple interracial attitudes demonstrate the mix and flux in both the individual and the population of the old passivity and the new aggresiveness.

Similarly, a series of one-year-later interviews with persons representing various points on the willingness index and selected from each of the subsamples of our population revealed this same co-mingling of diverse interracial feelings. We were impressed both with the general "Blackward" trend in 1969 and with the range of adjustments to it. At one end of this range there were those who denied that race or color was relevant to their life. Along the continuum were others whose Black consciousness appeared to be more or less superficial, involving new styles of speech conduct, and appearance. Most of our subjects seemed to cluster around this norm. While deliberate change in individual personality or politics were not prerequisite to such Black adaptations, greater ethnic awareness and pride must almost surely result from them. At the other end of the range were activists dedicated to some Black ideology, be it the "militant middle" or a revolutionary extreme. Politically, such partisans varied in their goals, which could be integration or pluralism or separatism. Personally, they ranged from color-blindness to anti-whiteness. The connections observed between personality, private attitudes and political policy were too intricate and idiosyncratic to summarize. No one formula applied to all, but in each case a mixture of individual and social factors was discernible.

In this diversity of personal sentiments and political inclinations, a rationale can be found for practically any kind of racial reform program. Policy alternatives currently recommended are essentially directed toward the maintenance of traditional Black-white relations, separatism, or pluralism. The first and second are undemocratic and perilous to our survival as a nation. Our own values lead us to the third, which is democratic but fraught with problems. There has been much talk of pluralism in this country, but actual precedent only for a very "slanted pluralism," where benefits accrue mainly to the dominant group and its most proximate minorities. Basic modifications in both the economic order and our major institutional network are required for a more balanced pluralism.

The schools are only one of the major institutions, and by themselves they cannot achieve a complicated societal goal. But they can route their programs in the desired direction. Alternative educational routes to balanced pluralism are school integration and a temporary situational separatism. Each has its characteristic strengths and weaknesses.

The push toward school integration, affirmed in 1954 by the Supreme Court decision against school segregation, has lost some of its momentum. Reinsistance has come from many sources: from belligerent white communities, from ineffectual law enforcement, from

contemporary urban-suburban race segregation and from historical race subordination, from economic inequalities and from encrusted, sometimes unconscious institutional practices and personal attitudes. Another problem which must be explicitly recognized is the counter-readiness of most young Blacks (as indicated in our data) to be immersed in an overpowering white environment, whatever the imminent educational advantages and democratic imperatives. Obviously even an excellent program of school integration cannot magically jump these hurdles.

Alternative to integration, seemingly antithetical, is a strategy of separatism that translates into programs for community control and self-determination. This approach has not only a power rationale but a psychological one, based on the needs of a suppressed, self-deprecating minority to develop identity, solidarity and self-esteem.

The difficulties in implementing separatistic programs are myriad and complicated. And if these difficulties should be overcome, such programs would engender new problems of transition from the ad hoc separatism to a new synthesis of balanced pluralism which is our goal.

There are no panaceas, but this we know: previously conditioned responses to integration and separatism are not appropriate to the stimuli of new situations. The results of our research, supported by our biases, suggest at this stage only a check-list of tests which can be applied to any interracial educational proposal:

> Is it critical of the inequities and prejudices of past institutional arrangements in a white-dominated society?
>
> Is it sensitive to the accumulated needs of a victimized minority?
>
> Does it help create a society where economic solvency and opportunity are equally available to all?
>
> Does it respect individual and cultural variations, recognizing that differences are not necessarily deficiencies?
>
> Does it foster enrichment through diversity?

Innovative educational programs meeting these criteria are urgent. Such programs could not only claim but gain the support of the large majority of Negro youth.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Race is a prime issue in American life. Interracial hostility is a prime problem, particularly in the cities. In 1966 we found to our surprise that a representative sample of Washington, D. C. Negro youth did not seem to be personally hostile toward whites. Instead they appeared tentative in their interracial approach, adapting their disposition to the predisposition of these whites.

In 1968 we wanted to know whether the intervening years with riots, protests and Black awareness had greatly changed these personal attitudes. So we replicated the 1966 study, adding some timely questions concerning the sample's education and vocational outlook, their racial and class self-identification, as well as their views on certain political-racial issues. The current study is advantaged by intensive follow-up interviews in 1969 with a small sample of the survey population in retesting sociological generalizations developed in the 1966 study concerning the nature of minority group "prejudice," its antecedents and influences.

In view of the continuing evidence of Black protests and self-assertion, we anticipated that by the spring of 1968 there would be a marked change in the pattern of general willingness of Negro youth to associate with whites. However, although our data do show a decline in 13 of the 15 items in our index, the decline is generally slight. Certain critical consistencies are maintained through the two year period supporting the generalizations of the 1966 report. These include differentials in willingness to associate based on school status (in-school as contrasted with out-of-school), sex and perceptions of differences among whites.

Economic developments effect and are effected by such changes in the social climate. While the national rate of Negro unemployment was slightly reduced, it remains double that of whites. Indisputably, there has been an increase in income for Blacks as a whole in the United States,[1] but whether this increase is interpreted as a dramatic

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[1]U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics and United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, BLS Report No. 375, The Social and Economic Status of Negroes in the United States, (Washington, D. C. Government Printing Office, 1969), pp. 15,29.

improvement over the past, or alternatively as a continuation of the unfavorable ratio of Black to white economic status depends on the angle from which the observation is made. Daniel P. Moynihan, counselor to President Nixon, makes one interpretation:

> The nineteen-sixties saw the great breakthrough for blacks. A third (32 per cent) of all families of Negro and other races earned $8,000 or more in 1968 compared, in constant dollars, with 15 per cent in 1960.[2]

On the other hand, Clifford Alexander Jr., a former chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, using the same official Bureau of the Census Statistics, makes an alternative interpretation. He stresses that "the ratio of Negro to white median family income is $60 to $100" and that

> The relevant fact to be understood and lamented is that from 1952 to 1968 there has only been a $6 increase. At that rate of progress, it would take 106 years, yes, 106 years for black median family income to equal white median family income.[3]

Actually the national ratio of Negro income to white income in the two years of our study changed only from 58 per cent in 1966 to 60 per cent in 1968; in the Northeast region of the United States, with which Washington, D. C. statistics are most comparable, the ratio changed from 68 per cent to 69 per cent.[4]

Whatever the actual ratio of Black to white income, the feeling of relative deprivation on the part of many Blacks has intensified. Convinced that their just claims for equality are lond overdue, their expectations rise faster than realizations; as some Blacks do achieve their expectations, the frustration level rises for the many who do not. There were some improvements in the national educational level of Blacks in the two years. The proportion of Negroes enrolled in school at age 16 and 17 rose only minimally, from 85 per cent to 86 per cent; but at age 18 and 19 years, the rise was from 38 per cent to 45 per cent.[5]

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[2]"Text of the Moynihan Memorandum on the Status of Negroes," New York Times, March 1, 1970.

[3]"Equal Rights Said Still A Myth," The Washington Post, April 23, 1970, p. C8.

[4]U. S. Department of Labor, Social and Economic Status of Negroes in the United States, op. cit., p. 15.

[5]Ibid. pp. 48 and 51.

In the formal structure of American life there have been many advances for Blacks since 1966. The most important provisions of the 1968 Federal Civil Rights Act were for fair housing, and for federal intervention in cases of Civil Rights infractions. Whereas, prior to the Federal Voting Rights Act of 1965, there were, according to the Southern Regional Council, only about 70 Black elected officials in the south, since that time this number has grown to almost 500. While earlier figures on a nationwide scale are not available, the current number is close to 1500.[6]

In the informal structure of mainstream American society, Black has gradually become acceptable and familiar in many places. With the original incentive often being economic and exploitative, Black faces appear in all aspects of TV programming and in other mass media. The world's largest department store advertises Afro wigs along with Caucasian hair styles; elite women's magazines feature Black models. Major corporations announce that they are conscientious "equal opportunity employers" and that they do not hire Black people merely for "show."[7]

Despite these developments, institutional racism continues in many areas. Legal advances for Blacks are not reliable indexes of actual progress, since practices so often fail to parallel laws. Sometimes this is because the laws are not adequately enforced; sometimes because basic economic and other social patterns perpetuate both separation and inequality. The most widely recognized illustration of this is the continued de facto school segregation even in situations where desegregation laws have been passed. Other examples are the lack of economically accessible housing despite fair housing laws, and the inadequate enforcement of the rules of the United States Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Increasing urbanization of Blacks and suburbanization of whites creates an increasingly segregated society; the prospects are for continuation of this trend.[8]

With racial separation a fact of urban life, Black separatism as a state of mind is not a surprising development. Increasingly, the vocalization of "Black mood" has been in terms of self-determination rather than integration. To a degree, this is true for the NAACP

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[6]Metropolitan Applied Research Center, Inc., National Roster of Black Elected Officials, February, 1970.

[7]Contact, The Monthly Employment Opportunity Publication from Equal Opportunity Employers, V. II, No. 3/4, March/April 1970, p. 29.

[8]National Commission on Urban Problems, The Challenge of America's Metropolitan Population: Outlook 1960-1985. (Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1959).

and the Urban League as well as for the more militant. Black Power may be expressed in many ways. While some Negroes seek political office and strategic coalitions "within the system," a current thrust of Black activism is toward organizations of Blacks, for Blacks, by Blacks. Programs of community action, Black United Fronts and caucuses function as pressure groups for community or institutional control, while in the schools Black student unions are organized and Black studies programs inaugurated. The white "establishment" is asked to make reparations for three hundred years of slavery and to provide needed financial and expert assistance when and as requested. White sympathizers and liberals are advised to leave policy-making and destiny-determining to Blacks alone; the white contribution to civil rights is not to be in interracial councils but in the white communities where institutional racism must be combatted.

Among Negroes who are not ideologically-oriented, Black awareness takes other forms: African emphases in art and music, dress and hair style, heightened in-group spirit and morale, and greater independence from and self-assertion toward whites.

Changes in the focus of research on interracial attitudes follow, with a lag, these changes in racial and interracial affairs. In 1966, we noted that interracial relations were approached almost exclusively from the white point of view, the Negro being regarded as the passive recipient of white judgments and hostilities. More recently, the changing status of the Negro and the national ferment concerning race has brought about a new general awareness of Black attitudes toward whites. By 1968 the research pendulum had truly swung. The difference in degree of public concern about interracial attitudes had become a difference in kind, as "Negroes" became "Blacks," assuming the offensive, making demands, not appealing to white consciences. Accordingly, social science researchers, even as journalists and government commissions, came to interracial attitude research from a different angle, asking "How do the Blacks perceive? What do the Blacks want? By what means do the Blacks propose to get what they want?"

Conditioning our own research is the slant of our own observations. In this connection it is relevant to present some biographical data concerning this project. The principal investigator is a white woman who for seven years has taught sociology in a predominantly Black university. As explained in the original study (see Appendix A, pages 146-8), background research pretests carried out under her supervision by several classes of sociology students over a number of years have involved thousands of Negro respondents of different ages, regions, occupational and educational levels. Such research has attempted to describe and measure anti-white prejudice in the forms of both stereotypes and social distance feelings, and to relate these prejudices to a variety of demographic and social-

psychological factors. While such student research cannot be used for drawing any definitive conclusions, it has yielded a treasury of grass-roots comments and clues for more rigorous investigation of minority group attitudes.

These researches have also yielded a point of view which has been consistently sustained by other research as well as by constant close contact with Negro students and associates. That is an appreciation of the variety in attitudes among the Negro population[9] on practically any topic and the recognition that even within any one single member of that population there is a multiplicity of motivations.[10]

With the exception of the research associate, the rest of the staff has been Black. (All of them said their own preference was to be called "Black" rather than "Negro." In this report we use the terms interchangeably, for convenience, and because neither is purely denotative any more.) Black colleagues exclusively, have done the questionnaire administration, the interviewing, and they have assisted in the final write-up. They are all young persons but varying in age, ideological orientation and socio-economic origin. Through their participation in every stage of our research - from schedule construction to data interpretation- our perspective has been widened.

Nevertheless, we feel that, despite precautions, all survey studies including our own must be looked at with a certain skepticism and reservation. A former president of the American Association for Public Opinion Research, Leo Bogart, asks some devastating questions which we share about the validity of survey data concerning any population. He declares, as we have already noted with regard to our

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[9]An example of how the public press has come to recognize this complexity is the recent feature in The New York Times Magazine, May 10, 1970 where a black professor of political science, Charles V. Hamilton, describes, "a vast group of hard-working, tax-paying, law-abiding Negro Americans - a silent black majority" and at the same time a white professor of government, Andrew Hacker, warns there is a "violent black minority" that would not shy away from open revolt.

[10]The Black individual's "multiplicity of motivation" in this period of accelerated social change is described by one scholar in these terms: "two sets of responses, the old form of submission and the new form of aggression,co-exist now in almost every Negro individual. Perhaps 'co-exist' is not the word; they jostle each other in a constant and bruising inward turmoil as each person seeks to discover the new terms of life." (Harold R. Isaacs, "The Changing Identity of the Negro American," in The Urban Condition, Leonard J. Duhl, editor,(New York: Simon and Shuster, 1969), p. 280.)

own sample sample, that any one individual may have conflicting opinions on a given issue. He reminds us that these multiple opinions "correspond to different roles or reference groups" and that

> just as the same object may arouse alternating emotions of love and hate, depending on circumstances, so we are capable of simultaneously incorporating a belief and its opposite or seeing the best and worst in two alternative courses of action.

Moreover, "opinion surveys are often dubious indicators of actual behavior because they do not, and perhaps cannot, measure the seething changing character of the public temper." Whatever the survey response, it may be modified by unanticipated "objective realities of the situation or by immediate short-run personal self interests."[11] Aware of these risks, we designed our instrument to maximize access to the "multi-faceted, multi-layered, and intricate" nature of the opinions examined, to use Bogart's term, and compensated additionally by the interview follow-up.

The hiatus between our findings of moderation in a representative youth sample on the one hand and recent violent racial demonstrations on the other does not invalidate the findings. Masses do not manufacture happenings but merely man them in periods of crisis or crowd behavior. The looter does not necessarily have attitudes favorable to looting. Nor do poeple necessarily act on their expressed preferences. Public opinion polls, which can not allow for the sudden incendiary event, are not alone a sufficient basis for predicting conflagrations.

Nevertheless, in understanding the collective disturbances which have occurred and in planning constructive programs for social change, it remains relevant to know the contradictory and inconcruent dispositions of the people who are involved.

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[11]Leo Bogart, "No Opinion, Don't Know, and Maybe No Answer," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. XXXI, No. 3, Fall 1967, pp. 331-343.

CHAPTER II

THE SAMPLE AND RESEARCH DESIGN

Sample Selection

Our 1968 population of 638 high school seniors and dropouts was selected to parallel the 582 of the 1966 sample, with only those modifications which would give us a group of male vocationals (lacking in 1966) and a large enough proportion of female dropouts to permit statistical breakdowns of that subsample. Wherever possible the subsamples were drawn from the same sources as in 1966: the same four academic high schools, the same two vocational high schools, plus two additional ones, and two dropout programs. One of these two was not the same as in the earlier year.

Because the 1966 training programs for domestic and other menial jobs were not available to use in 1968; a female dropout subsample was drawn from a new source, the Neighborhood Youth Corps clerical training programs which provided the desired larger number. The N.Y.C. programs were financed with federal (Department of Labor) funds and were conducted under the direction of the United Planning Organization. The young ladies from N.Y.C. appeared to be upwardly mobile toward white-collar styles in dress and manner. Such an orientation is reflected in some of the findings reported for this subgroup.

Fortunately, we were able to make contact with the same program for male dropouts from which we previously had drawn most of our out-of-school males. When we revisited the same Pre-Vocational Center at the same location two long, hot summers later, it was obvious even before the first questionnaire was administered that separation from the white society had intensified, and indeed had acquired ideological status. The Center is located on a main traffic artery in the Black belt. The neighborhood had the same rundown look as in 1966, hot and crowded and dirty. But in 1968 the havoc of the April riots was evident in rubbled lots, burnt buildings, and wired-over store windows. Besides, something new had been added: a look of self-assertion and creativity. Next to the Pre-Vocational Center was The New School of Afro-American Art, its walls painted with murals celebrating Black struggle and Black beauty. Dashiki-clad youth, proud and bold, appeared very much in charge.

The pre-vocational program, sponsored by the United Planning Organization and funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity was directed towards youths who were not amenable to the usual vocational training program. Due to extreme lack of skills, of conventional work habits and educational background, they live in a segregated universe far out from white society.

In 1966, this subsample had generally shown markedly less willingness to associate with whites than any other subsample. In summer 1968 at the time of questionnaire administration, these young trainees made newspaper headlines in an incident demonstrating hostility and defiance toward their white employers on a nearby army post. A local newspaper describes this incident:

> Four years of sporadic skirmishing between suburban military housewives and the ghetto dropouts who filled and carried their grocery bags . . . have been ended by a Pentagon decision. . . .
>
> According to the Army, the agreement was terminated because of continuing complaints from commissary patrols of poor service and uncooperative attitudes from the bag boys. . .
>
> The conflict which probably involved no more than a small percentage of the 2000 customers who shop daily at the commissary, was rooted in the friction generated when street-wise youths and women who take their privileges and their pocketbooks seriously came face to face. . .
>
> The youths say they were treated badly by some customers, unfairly accused of everything from thievery to foul language and watched closely by suspicious commissary officials.[1]

Indeed, hostility and defiance were more characteristic of the general interracial temper in 1968 than in 1966. Overt expression of this mood had reached a peak in the District of Columbia in the disturbances of April 1968, following the assassination of The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. While they were not centered in or focused on the school system until the following year, certainly positive pride in being Black as well as angry negative feelings about whites were developing at the time of our questionnaire administration.

In retrospect, it can be seen that the student protest movement was evolving earlier and more vigorously in the academic than in the

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[1]"Youths Get the Sack at Commissary," The Washington Post, March 9, 1969, p. D1.

vocational schools, and indeed in the higher income areas more than in the lower. The students in the vocational high schools seemed to have a greater investment in their education and applications for admission continue to exceed the schools' capacity.

Recent recognition of the need for expended job training in school programs has led to a D. C. School Board recommendation for a massive career development center to replace the city's five vocational schools. Counter-arguments to this proposal include the view that the success of the vocational schools is connected with the small and relatively personal character of their present operation.

In both vocational and academic high schools, increased de-facto segregation had reached the point where the enrollment in 1968 was 93.5 per cent Black. A greater percentage of Negro students, 99 per cent, were attending predominantly Negro schools in Washington, D. C. than in any other large school system in the country in fall, 1968.[2] Thus, although our school population was selected from sources identical to those of 1966, and from similar dropout sources, they clearly represented altered racial situations.

The sex and school status breakdowns of our 1968 sample compared to that of 1966 which can be seen in Table 1 below. As in 1966 there is a low sex ratio. This is true also of the total high school population, which in May 1968 numbered 17,315, and included 8,105 males and 9,210 females. The dropout rate for that academic year, higher for males than for females, was 11.6.[3] Oversampling of dropouts for our study was required in order to have a statistically adequate number of persons of both sexes in this category.

Similarity of Background Characteristics - 1968 and 1966 Samples

The 1966 and 1968 samples were very similar in background characteristics, as summarized in Table 1. In both years, they were largely local in origin. The proportion living in intact homes (with both mother and father) is less than the national estimate of 58.3 per cent for Negroes under 18 living with both parents,[4] and may

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[2]Statistics from U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, quoted in The Washington Post, January 4, 1969, p. A1

[3]Information from reports of the Office of the Statistical Analyst, Department of General Research, Budget and Legislation, Public Schools of the District of Columbia.

[4]U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Population Characteristics, Marital Status and Family Status, (Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 5.

T A B L E 1

CHARACTERISTICS OF 1966 AND 1968 SAMPLES AND SUBSAMPLES BY PER CENT*

Sample or Subsample	Number		D. C. Birthplace		Family Composition Two Parent		Father's Education H.S.Grad.		Mother's Education H.S.Grad.		Father's Occupation Wht.Collar		Mother's Occupation Wht.Collar		Major Religions Baptist		Catholic	
	'66	'68	'66	'68	'66	'68	'66	'68	'66	'68	'66	'68	'66	'68	'66	'68	'66	'68
TOTAL	582	638**	74	79	47	48	39	38	49	47	23	19	29	35	40	45	20	20
In-School	471	483	74	82	49	52	43	41	51	52	25	24	32	38	42	41	18	20
Dropout	111	155	71	71	35	35	24	27	33	34	11	7	14	26	33	55	25	20
Males	218	273	74	81	47	52	46	44	54	56	27	17	23	37	33	56	21	17
Academic	138	100	73	89	54	66	55	56	64	68	36	34	42	48	34	37	18	20
Vocational	0	89	--	82	--	49	---	38	--	46	--	7	--	32	---	58	--	19
Dropout	80	84	75	71	36	39	30	35	38	53	17	9	17	32	32	58	25	17
Females	364	345	73	76	46	46	36	35	44	42	20	22	26	33	44	53	19	19
Academic	221	158	74	80	54	54	43	47	52	57	25	31	32	44	44	36	18	20
Vocational	112	117	76	75	35	44	29	26	38	38	15	18	19	25	47	49	19	20
Dropout	31	71	58	70	33	31	9	16	19	13	6	6	9	19	35	52	26	25

* As indicated in the title of this table, the per cents reported are based merely on the summation of answers in that category compared to the total population of the sample or subsample involved. The per cent of unknowns (i.e., no answer or other) varied with respect to different items on the questionnaire. In any case, the unknowns were not redistributed on our table because the assumption that they were actually distributed proportionately was regarded as very questionable.

** Includes 20 cases not identified by sex.

reflect the selective age factor of our population. They were old enough for their parents to have had greater likelihood of separation than in the case of a population which includes younger aged children as well. Indeed some of our sample were married and/or have children of their own. There were the expected subgroup differentials with regard to family composition, the conventional two-parent homes being more likely among the academics than the vocationals and more likely among the vocationals than among the dropouts.

Our respondents reported that 38 per cent of their fathers and 47 per cent of their mothers were high school graduates. These figures exceed 1968 national estimates[5] and also are greater than unofficial figures for this city. While there may be some halo effect in questionnaire response, we suspect that our sample, with a preponderance of high school seniors, was weighted in the direction of more than average status for young Blacks in the United States. The fact that there was a differential of about 16 per cent between figures reported for dropouts' parents and for those of in-school youth supports this impression.

In respect to parental occupation, our sample, with 19 per cent of the fathers and 35 per cent of the mothers reported in white collar occupations, closely approximated 1968 national percentages of 20 per cent for Negro males and 32 per cent for Negro females.[6]

With regard to religion, the 1968 sample also resembled that of 1966. The plurality of respondents (45 per cent) were Baptists; the percentage of Catholics (20 per cent) remained the same. The one other most numerous religious affiliation was Methodist with whom 12 per cent claimed current affiliation. The changed format of our 1968 questionnaire made it easier for respondents to report specifically any differences between their family's religion, and their own. Nine per cent said that currently they had "no religion" whereas only two per cent said they had been raised in "no religion." The only other noteworthy change between family religion and the youth's own current religion was the ten per cent decrease in Baptist affiliation.

As would be expected, school status differences in the subsamples consistently reflect the favored socioeconomic position of

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[5]Of non-white adults 35 to 44 years of age, about 30 per cent of the males and about 37 per cent of the females are estimated to have completed four years or more of schooling. (See U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, Educational Attainment, March 1968, (Washington, D. C. Government Printing Office, 1968), pp. 10-13.)

[6]U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Employment and Earnings, (Washington, D. C. Government Printing Office, 1969) pp. 36-37.

the in-school population compared to the dropout population, whether the variable is D. C. birthplace, (rather than recent migration from the South), intact (mother and father) homes, parental high school education, or parental white collar occupation. This pattern is generally sustained in comparisons when the academic, vocational and dropout subsamples are each divided by sex, with the vocational being the intermediary category of the three.

Educational and Vocational Aspirations

In 1968, we asked our respondents not only about their preferences but their actual expectations with regard to next year's schooling. Slightly higher educational aspirations were reported by males than by females, but their actual expectations were generally more similar to each other. About half the academic seniors chose to go to college and the majority of these thought they would make it. The vocationals were both less ambitions along these lines, and less optimistic of achieving their ambitions. Although it was unrealistic for dropouts to aspire to college next year, about one-fourth of the males did so. Apparently they recognized this aspiration was not feasible, for few of them felt they would achieve it. More of them expected actually to be attending a technical school, even though in some cases they expressed no desire to go. Fourteen of the dropouts of both sexes wished to return to high school next year; but, apparently with some reluctance, twice that number thought they would actually do so. Very likely they are being steered toward high school and technical school by their counsellors in the poverty agencies and by the available job training programs. The female dropouts, as we shall see in other contexts as well, were a realistic group. They generally knew they were not college bound, quite a few (44 per cent) of them would have liked to attend business school full or part-time, but most felt they could not make it.

These data are consistent with that of other studies which find that although disadvantaged youth may share the aspirations of the more fortunate, they lack confidence in achieving these goals.[7]

In response to the open-ended question asking the reason why a respondent felt he might fail to achieve his aspiration, no one explanation was given. Financial limitations were mentioned by about 13 per cent of all the respondents. No one explicitly stated that being Black

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[7]See summary of empirical research on this hypothesis in U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, National Institutes of Health, Public Health Service, Perspectives on Human Deprivation, (Washington, D. C. Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 29.

T A B L E 2

RESPONSES BY PER CENT OF SUBSAMPLE TO QUESTIONS:
"IF YOU COULD CHOOSE, WHAT TYPE OF SCHOOL WOULD YOU LIKE TO ATTEND NEXT YEAR?"
AND
"WHAT TYPE OF SCHOOL DO YOU THINK YOU WILL ACTUALLY BE ATTENDING NEXT YEAR?"

TYPE OF SCHOOL	ACADEMIC				VOCATIONAL				DROPOUT			
	Male N=100		Female N=158		Male N=89		Female N=117		Male N=84		Female N=71	
	Choice	Expect	Choice	Expect	Choice	Expect	Choice	Expect	Choice	Expect	Choice	Expect
Business School												
Full-time	2	4	8	3	3	0	3	2	10	5	27	4
Part-time	0	6	14	4	4	4	15	8	1	0	17	8
Technical School												
Full-time	13	6	7	8	15	9	2	2	17	23	1	1
Part-time	8	4	4	3	9	2	16	11	7	5	4	1
Two-year and Four Four-year College												
Full-time	55	47	50	46	31	18	21	8	26	6	8	5
Part-time	3	0	4	2	3	2	10	7	7	2	7	5

imposed any limitation. One wonders whether this may have been repressed; whether it might have been implied in other comments regarding lack of opportunity or training, or whether it simply was not perceived as a handicap.

The latter explanation is supported by a 1964 investigation into the career plans of middle-class Negro males attending college or college-bound. On the basis of 120 depth interviews in two cities, Atlanta Georgia and New York City, Eli Ginzberg reported that:

> these young men are making their plans for the future in terms of their interests and aptitudes, with little reference to their being Negro. . .
>
> Despite their racial handicap, these young people had sufficiently good starts so that they believe that they can shape the kinds of lives they desire to lead.[8]

When long run career aspirations of our young people are compared to the occupational level[9] of their own parents, over half of them hope to be upwardly mobile. This is true, however, to a lesser extent among dropouts, probably due both to realistic assessment of opportunities as well as the low self-confidence referred to above. Since more of the academics' parents are already in higher occupational groups, it is not surprising that a good portion of them set their sights on the same level as their parents. Practically no one expressed a preference for a life work beneath the parental level.

In examining the attitudes of these youths on racial issues, as we shall do in later chapters, it is relevant that however they assess the prospects for Blacks as a group, their own career ambitions are more optimistic than not.

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[8]Eli Ginzberg, and others, The Middle Class Negro in the White Man's World. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), pp. 172 & 177.

[9]"Occupational levels" were determined by classifying each occupation as in the U. S. Census according to the following four categories: professional and managerial, clerical, skilled and semi-skilled, laborer and domestic.

T A B L E 3

CAREER OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION AS COMPARED

TO PARENTAL OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL,*

BY SAMPLE AND SUBSAMPLE BY PER CENT

Sample/Subsample	Same Occupational Group	Higher Occupational Group	Lower Occupational Group
TOTAL	15	60	4
Academic	23	62	3
Vocational	7	65	6
Dropout	13	52	5
Males	16	58	6
Academic	30	60	3
Vocational	4	62	8
Dropout	12	52	7
Females	15	63	3
Academic	19	65	3
Vocational	10	68	4
Dropout	15	52	1

* Wherever possible comparison was made with parent of same sex. If no information was given regarding parent of same sex, then comparison was made with other parent, if possible.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Instrument and Procedures

The research plan for this replication has been referred to in Chapter I and is comparable to that described in the 1966 report.

The Basic "Willingness" Question

In the present study, as in 1966, the major dependent variable is the index representing the degree to which Negro youth are willing to associate personally with whites in diverse interracial situations.

Critical interpretation of the meaning of our findings both in 1966 and in 1968 and their comparison with other researches calls for a brief re-assessment of our own research format. Our basic question required that the respondent circle a number which would indicate how he "would feel about" associating with whites in each of fifteen different situations, according to this key: 4. completely willing; 3. somewhat willing; 2. unsure; 1. somewhat unwilling; 0. completely unwilling. This is different from the format of many other studies of prejudice, which ask only about negative feelings, and therefore are unlikely to discover whatever positive feelings there may be.[10] Our original interest in discovering the tendencies to approach that may coexist with the tendencies to withdraw reflected our value orientation toward integration. Our aim was to project into a future situation of desegregation where the assumption of white prejudice could be minimized. We were seeking to find the young Black's own disposition toward whites under circumstances where the choice was authentically his, that is where he was assured of receptivity on the part of the whites involved. So our oral directions also included the sentence, "Assume that in each case the whites would be completely willing to associate with Negroes." We are aware that such reassurance is not credible to a respondent all of whose past experiences contradict it. Nevertheless we wanted to know what sort of resistence and/or receptivity to integration would come from Blacks.

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[10]The classic Bogardus model was phrased "Which would you exclude from your country, occupation, neighborhood, club, etc.?" The most recent large studies with which we make comparison include Robin Williams' Strangers Next Door which asks "Would you find it a little distasteful ..." (p. 412), Gary Marx's Protest and Prejudice in which the author says, "... attention will be focused exclusively on negative beliefs and feelings about whites, although it is important to keep in mind that most of those questioned probably also hold at least some positive stereotypes as well." (pp. 169-170) Harris and Brink, in their more recent report, Black and White have asked their questions so as to give the respondent both a positive and negative choice in each case.

Although the goals of integration have been abandoned or critically redefined since the inception of the original study in 1966, the problem of finding some just and viable basis for coexistence continues. Therefore, there is still an important rationale for exploring Black predispositions in interracial encounters.

The phrase "are you willing" was carefully selected in preference to "do you wish" or some other more active verb to avoid any implication of eagerness. We were reassured that this is how our respondents interpreted it, when we interviewed some of them later. For example, for one academic senior a willingness average of 3 ('somewhat willing') signified a kind of tentative acceptance.

> I haven't been around whites much; I prefer it that way. I don't understand them. I can't tell whites' ages. Every white looks alike. If I was around them more, I might accept them better. I don't hate them. My past experiences were not that bad, but not that good.

She herself told us that with greater familiarity her present neutrality might change in either direction, depending largely on the nature of the new experiences.

For others, "willingness" meant being resigned to the inevitable, as in 'working on a job under whites,' and to a lesser extent 'having a white teacher.' Such respondents paralleled the position of a white southerner interviewed on TV recently concerning the election of the first Black Sheriff in Gore County. Asked, 'Do you accept it?' he replied, 'I've got to accept it. It's here. Nothing else I can do about it.' For obvious reasons, minority group members, unless revolutionary, characteristically become resigned to prevailing circumstances.

With regard to most of the items on our willingness list, respondents reacted as though they had an authentic choice. Hence the high willingness index of so large a portion of the youth queried testifies to some affirmative feeling. This is not the whole message nor the only one. But it is an important ingredient of the tangled skein of interracial attitudes of young Blacks.

Another consideration that may affect the degree of willingness to associate registered on the questionnaire with the respondent's interpretation of the term "associate." One young lady redefined this word in an interview after she had spent an academic year in a predominantly white college. Speaking of her white fellow students, she commented that with the exception of her white roommate, 'We'll talk sometimes, but we don't associate.' Conversations were amicable but apparently confined to superficialities and joking. 'Whites do not have the same experiences," she explained. This strict construction

of the term 'associate' may counterbalance the loose construction of the term 'willingness' in effecting the willingness-to-associate index.

The Open-Ended Question

In addition to the fifteen basic willingness items which called only for circling one number along a five-point scale, our questionnaire included a series of open-ended questions concerning (1) the kinds of whites the respondent was most willing to associate with and (2) most unwilling to associate with; (3) the kinds of Negroes the respondentwas most willing to associate with and (4) most unwilling to associate with. This section was originally designed to test whether some negative attitudes which seemed to discriminate between races of people were really discriminating between kinds of people, the good kinds and the bad kinds, to learn what was perceived as 'bad' and 'good' and whether the criteria applied in interracial associations and in intraracial associations were the same.

1968 Questionnaire Innovations

In 1966, the principal independent variables were various measures of socioeconomic status and of desegregated school experience; in 1968, they also include the ethnic and socioeconomic terms of self-identification which respondents checked off from a list incorporated in the questionnaire. The decision to include these race and class self-identification items was made under the assumption that subjective definitions may be more closely related to personal and political attitudes than objective socioeconomic class indices such as parental occupation and education.

In 1968 we added to the questionnaire twenty racial issues statements representing differing points of view: "Anglo-conformity" and Black identification, conventional and unconventional, status quo and militant, separatist and integrationist. Following the questionnaires, depth interviews with a representative sample of our respondents were planned along the outline shown in Appendix B. It was hoped that these interviews could contribute clearer, more realistic pictures of the perplexing mixture of attitudes encountered in both the 1966 and 1968 studies, and that, along with the twenty racial issues statements, they would be of help in understanding the apparent disparity between overwhelming evidence, especially in the mass media, of Black antagonism against whites on the one hand and our high index of personal willingness to associate with whites on the other; that it would provide a picture of how young Blacks perceived the status quo, and tell whether their goals and methods were moderate or revolutionary; that,additionally it would clarify the relationship between Black identity, pride and power on the one hand and, on the other the alternative goals of integration and separatism; that it would help in disentangling the various strands of interracial attitudes and in delineating the complex nature of so-called Negro "prejudice" towards whites.

The total sample population is broken down, as in 1966, into three school status categories, each of which is in turn divided into two sex categories. Each of these six subgroups then serves as a control on the other in determining where generalizations regarding Negro youth are possible and where more restricted descriptions are required.

Hypotheses

Some of the hypotheses investigated in 1968 were:

I. Despite evidence of interracial strife, Negro youth are willing, in varying degrees, to associate personally with whites in a variety of situations.

II. Willingness to associate varies with respect to the different types of interracial situations, and a major factor in each situation is the assessment of white acceptance.

a. In general, there is an inverse relationship between the intimacy of the contact and its desirability.

b. However, where racial composition is balanced or predominantly Negro, and the subject can be confident of his own acceptability, an intimate contact may be approved (e.g., close friendship with one individual white; interracial social clubs with many rather than few Negro members, etc.).

c. Intimate interracial activities which are already familiar are relatively more acceptable than ones which are unfamiliar.

III. Willingness to associate varies with respect to different socioeconomic characteristics of the Negro respondents.

a. Self-designated class is more relevant to interracial attitudes than more objective criteria of socioeconomic class, such as parental occupation or education.

b. School status (academic high school, vocational high school, dropout) is directly related to general willingness to associate.

IV. Willingness to associate varies with respect to the different categories of whites perceived by the respondent. Categories may be based on such criteria as the respondent's perception of the white's willingness to associate with Negroes, attitudes toward civil rights, psychological or moral characteristics, socioeconomic class, etc.

V. Willingness to associate varies with respect to the extent and nature of the respondent's previous association with whites.

a. Previous interracial experiences which are more closely correlated with high willingness to associate with whites are the kind where the contacts between the respondents are not only equal status, but also voluntary and informal.

VI. Respondents' self-identification with regard to socioeconomic class and racial nomenclature are related to school status.

a. Class self-identification for all subgroups, but more so for in-school subjects, is primarily with middle class.

b. Race self-identification is for all subgroups, but more so for dropouts, primarily "Black" rather than Negro.

c. Self-identified Blacks of any school status tend to disavow "middle class" identification.

VII. Respondent's positions on major social issues vary with sex and school status.

a. Persons who perceive themselves as "Black" take a more radical position than Negroes with regard to

1. assessment of racial status quo

2. methods of social change

3. goal of social change

b. Regardless of school status there is no apparent consistency between personal willingness to associate and position on major social issues.

CHAPTER III

WILLINGNESS TO ASSOCIATE

Introduction

In this chapter we are concerned with the 1968 norms and patterns of willingness to associate, and their comparison with the norms and patterns that prevailed in 1966. Our overview of the total Black youth populations for both years is followed by a view of consistent differentials among sex and school-status subsamples in both years, and of individual variations in 1968. Several measures are used to describe interracial attitudes in 1968 and to compare them with 1966. For both years a mean willingness score[1] is calculated for each individual activity, for particular categories of activities and/or for the entire willingness list. Any activity can then be compared with another (or with that same activity at a different date) in terms of the willingness average of each or in terms of its rank order on the entire list. Other times we examine the entire distribution of responses at each point on the five-point willingness scale. Or, to obviate cumbersome tools and discussion, we use only the per cent 'completely willing."

Changes in the Willingness Pattern, 1966 to 1968

We were surprised to rediscover in 1968 a willingness-to-associate-with-whites index almost as high as that which we found in 1966. Actually there was a decline in the average score of thirteen items on our index. The two exceptional items were marriage and dating and for these there was actually an increase. While the decline was not sharp or of high statistical significance, its consistency is noteworthy. With a theoretically possible range of average willingness from 0 (completely unwilling) to 4 (completely willing) our respondents' scores average 3.07 in the present period as compared to 3.16 in the earlier one.

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[1]This mean score is a weighted average computed on a scale of five degrees of willingness, as explained in Chapter II, from the extremely positive (4) to the extremely negative (0). This mean score has both the strengths and weaknesses of any average, blurring different kinds of distributions along the 0 to 4 scale.

T A B L E 4

WILLINGNESS TO ASSOCIATE IN EACH OF FIFTEEN SITUATIONS
BY MEAN WILLINGNESS SCORES AND BY PER CENT*

SITUATION	Mean Willingness Score		Per Cent of Total Replies: Completely Willing		Somewhat Willing		Unsure		Somewhat Unwilling		Completely Unwilling	
	1966	1968	1966	1968	1966	1968	1966	1968	1966	1968	1966	1968
School: mostly Negro, few white	3.70	3.61	80	73	14	15	3	3	2	2	1	1
White teacher	3.60	3.56	77	75	14	14	4	5	2	2	3	3
Work side by side with whites	3.58	3.38	75	63	15	22	5	8	3	3	2	3
Church: mostly Negro, few whites	3.55	3.51	76	70	14	19	4	4	1	4	3	2
School: half Negro, half white	3.54	3.48	73	68	16	20	6	7	2	3	3	2
Church: half Negro, half white	3.52	3.35	72	64	17	20	5	7	3	5	3	4
Club: mostly Negro, few white	3.50	3.48	70	64	19	26	5	5	3	3	3	2
Club: half Negro, half white	3.45	3.38	69	62	18	23	5	8	5	4	3	3
Close white friend	3.40	3.39	65	63	20	21	9	10	2	3	4	3
Work under a white person	3.33	3.12	60	50	26	29	5	10	5	6	3	5
Church: mostly white	2.84	2.53	42	33	26	26	15	16	8	10	8	15
School: mostly white	2.81	2.48	40	30	29	28	13	16	8	10	9	15
Club: mostly white	2.69	2.36	28	19	37	35	19	20	8	14	8	11
Dating a white person	2.28	2.48	31	35	21	22	17	18	7	7	23	18
Marrying a white person	1.67	1.82	17	19	12	14	27	27	9	7	34	32

* This refers to the total sample of 582 in 1966 and 638 in 1968. There were no more than six cases missing on any item in either year.

The rank order of the 15 items was similar in both years, with dating and marriage remaining at or close to the bottom of the list, notwithstanding the higher average scores for those items.

Upon detailed examination, the upward trend for dating and marriage does not seem to be sustained among all subgroups. There is no coherent pattern. Therefore our data testify only to the state of flux and inconsistency with regard to dating and marriage attitudes. With regard to close friendships interracially, the 1968 willingness percentages are high, almost exactly repeating those of 1966. As in a 15-city survey, less than ten percent rejected the prospect.[2]

Several generalizations are possible regarding an overall trend in willingness to associate. For individual activities there is considerable situational specificity in willingness, with most items retaining their same position on the lists for both years. This generalization applies both to the total population, as already noted, and to the six subsamples, based on both sex and school status, which serve as controls one against the other. When activities are grouped on the basis of the intimacy of contact involved, as in Table 5, it is clear that non-intimate activities continue, as in 1966, to be more acceptable to Blacks than the intimate ones. Still, the overall decline of willingness in this two-year period is more marked in the non-intimate activities, indeed in some of the very situations, such as school and work where integration efforts have been particularly directed.

With regard to school and job integration attitudes, other studies with Black samples of mixed ages and in different places, show percentages very close to our own. For example, in a Bedford-Stuyvesant New York population only ten per cent registered a preference for Black employers;[3] four-fifths of a Milwaukee, Wisconsin population were agreeable to racially mixed job situations.[4] Integrated schools were favored by a large majority of all other populations surveyed. For example, in a Gallup poll, 78 per cent of a nation-wide sample expressed

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[2]Angus Campbell and Howard Schuman, "Racial Attitudes in Fifteen American Cities," Supplemental Studies for the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, Washington, D. C. 1968, p. 16.

[3]Center for Urban Education, Community Attitudes in Bedford-Stuyvesant: An Area Study, New York, 1967. (Reported in Gary T. Marx, Protest and Prejudice (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1967), p. 224.)

[4]J. Slesinger, Study of Community Opinions Concerning the Summer 1967 Civil Disturbance, The University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee, Office of Applied Research, and Institute of Human Relations, 1968.

TABLE 5

WILLINGNESS TO ASSOCIATE IN INTIMATE AND NON-INTIMATE SITUATIONS
BY MEAN WILLINGNESS SCORES AND PER CENT COMPLETELY WILLING*

SITUATION	Intimate Activities** Mean Willingness Score		Completely Willing by Per Cent		SITUATION	Non-Intimate Activities Mean Willingness Score		Completely Willing by Per Cent	
	1966	1968	1966	1968		1966	1968	1966	1968
Club: mostly Negro	3.50	3.48	70	64	School: mostly Negro, few white	3.70	3.67	80	78
Club: half Negro, half white	3.45	3.38	69	62	White teacher	3.60	3.56	77	75
Close white friend	3.40	3.39	65	63	Work side by side with white	3.58	3.38	75	63
Club: mostly white	2.69	2.36	28	19	School: half Negro, half white	3.54	3.48	73	68
Dating a white person	2.28	2.48	31	35	Work under a white person	3.33	3.12	60	50
Marrying a white person	1.67	1.82	17	19	School: mostly white	2.81	2.48	40	30
Mean	2.83	2.82	47	44	Mean	3.42	3.28	81	61

* This refers to the total sample of 582 in 1966 and 638 in 1968. There were no more than six cases missing on any item in either year.

** In classifying activities as intimate or non-intimate, we decided to exclude churches, whatever their racial composition, because it became evident that there is considerable variation in viewpoint concerning the nature of the church experience. To some church is like an intimate social club to others it is more like a public assemblage, with a relatively impersonal ritual.
Our original intent was that "clubs" would represent a very private small group association. This may be the interpretation made by most respondents, although some may think in terms of more loosely united common interest groups.

preference for sending their children to an integrated school,[5] and a broad 15-city survey found only six per cent preferring mostly Negro schools for their children.[6]

However, since these surveys do not focus as we have, on the differential within school integration of varying racial composition which we have found to be so crucial, their results are not strictly comparable with our own. Significantly, when, as in Table 6 the activities are grouped on the basis of their varying racial compositions, it is the predominantly white situations which are, even more emphatically than in 1966 deemed undesirable. This demonstrates as it did in 1966, that Black youth is not avoiding association with whites in particular kinds of activities so much as association under conditions where whites are in a numerical majority. The primary criterion for rejecting a proposed interracial contact is not the degree of intimacy involved, nor the extent of the sample's previous familiarity with desegregated contact. (This will be more evident when we examine the differing patterns of acceptability of work and school situations of the several subsamples.) Instead, a crucial consideration is the extent to which the Black is numerically preponderant. Being in the majority in any group circumvents the risks of non-acceptability, as we noted in 1966. But perhaps more important in these days of Black racial pride, it permits the Black to "set the tone of the gathering," to determine who will be excluded. The advantages of being part of an in-group were reiterated in the interviews. As one youth said,

> I'd rather be among my own kind than mixed up; white people couldn't understand us. They haven't lived our kind of life.

This preference is well illustrated in the context of the school integration issue. Predominantly white schools were deemed undesirable in 1968. With a mean willingness score of 2.48 the per cent of respondents "completely willing" to attend such schools was even lower than for dating interracially. This is in marked contrast to schools half-and-half in racial composition, to which 88 per cent assented, or predominantly Negro schools with only a few whites which almost everybody endorsed. Despite the frequent recognition that predomintly white schools were likely to provide a superior education, they were rejected on two bases: the desire to avoid competition and the desire to enjoy a greater social life. Comments in the follow-up interviews with youths in all three school status subgroups underscore this viewpoint: one vocational high school male with consistently negative reactions to items on the willingness list gave his only

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[5] "Report from Black America," Newsweek, June 30, 1969, p. 20.

[6] Campbell and Schuman, op. cit. p. 16.

TABLE 6

WILLINGNESS TO ASSOCIATE IN THREE GROUPS OF VARYING RACIAL COMPOSITION
BY MEAN WILLINGNESS SCORE AND BY PER CENT*

SITUATION	Per Cent Completely Willing						Per Cent Completely Unwilling						Mean Willingness Score					
	<N		1/2		<W		<N		1/2		<W		<N		1/2		<W	
	1966	1968	1966	1968	1966	1968	1966	1968	1966	1968	1966	1968	1966	1968	1966	1968	1966	1968
Club	70	64	69	62	28	19	3	2	3	3	8	11	3.50	3.48	3.45	3.38	2.69	2.36
Church	76	70	72	64	42	33	3	2	3	4	8	15	3.55	3.51	3.52	3.35	2.84	2.53
School	80	78	73	68	40	30	1	1	3	2	9	15	3.70	3.67	3.54	3.48	2.81	2.48
Per Cent or Mean Score	75	71	72	65	37	27	2	2	3	3	8	14	3.58	3.55	3.50	3.40	2.78	2.46

* This refers to the total sample of 582 in 1966 and 633 in 1968. There were no more than six cases missing on any item in either year.

NOTE: In this table <N is used to designate "predominantly Negro" and <W, predominantly white.

strong acceptance to a predominantly Negro school. He explained in the follow-interview that he had gone to a predominantly white school with only 48 Blacks among about 4000 students, had enjoyed a quality education, and had benefited from being around whites for a while because "I had never been before and I don't plan ever to be again." But, he concluded:

> I don't dig going to school with a whole lot of whiteys, because of the social thing. I couldn't have as much fun as if the school had been Black.

An academic senior whose reactions to items on the wilingness list were generally positive registered "unsure" only with regard to predominantly white schools. He had decided against going to a large white university, declaring that a predominantly Black school would be a good place to "escape race," whereas in a white school one would constantly be asserting one's racial identity. One militant dropout stated his objection to a predominantly white school in terms of the "competitive thing with the honkies; I'd have to battle on their grounds.' On the other hand, some interviewees were sufficiently success-oriented to make the opposite choice. One such, a female dropout who had originally registered doubt about predominantly white schools, changed her position to willingness. She was opting for "a better educational system." She cited the experience of a friend's five year old kindergartener whose white classmate already had an amazing education, acquired in a white nursery school.

Several selected white colleges for career advantages, in full awareness of the social handicaps. Similarly work-oriented youths accommodated to interracial job situations, choosing not to concentrate on the unpleasant experiences they may have had. For instance, one young lady who recited a series of slights by a white female supervisor in the telephone company (including systemmatic exclusion of Black employees from publicity photographs) was nevertheless prepared to try hopefully under another white supervisor. Her encounters with "nasty" Black supervisors as well as with a benign white male supervisor who treated her "like a daughter" were factors in this favorable re-disposition. Thus for reasons of expediency or personality, many variations of individual attitudes occur outside of the statistical pattern.

The Sex Differential in Willingness to Associate

Looking at male and female scores separately in Table 7, we see that in 1968 the rank order of the activities is similar to what it was in 1966, with females continuing to be more willing than males to associate with whites in most activities. However, the fact that this sex differential is less in 1968 than it was before suggests, along with some other data, that the young population is tending to be more homogeneous than formerly. Females may feel generally less threatened by whites because they feel, as one Negro psychiatrist observed, that

TABLE 7

WILLINGNESS TO ASSOCIATE IN EACH OF FIFTEEN ACTIVITIES
BY SEX, BY MEAN WILLINGNESS SCORE AND BY PER CENT*

ACTIVITY	Mean Score for Each Activity				Percentage Completely Willing				Male/Female Differential	
	Male		Female		Male		Female			
	1966	1968	1966	1968	1966	1968	1966	1968	1966	1968
School: mostly Negro, few whites	3.58	3.60	3.76	3.72	74	75	84	81	-16	-12
Church: mostly Negro, few whites	3.41	3.40	3.71	3.59	71	66	80	74	-30	-19
Church: half Negro, half white	3.39	3.26	3.61	3.41	68	62	76	66	-22	-15
School: half Negro, half white	3.34	3.36	3.67	3.56	65	61	78	73	-33	-20
Club: mostly Negro, few whites	3.31	3.35	3.58	3.57	63	59	74	69	-27	-22
White teacher	3.27	3.49	3.73	3.60	69	70	82	80	-46	-11
Close white friend	3.26	3.26	3.47	3.48	64	57	66	68	+21	+22
Club: half Negro, half white	3.23	3.24	3.54	3.47	61	56	73	67	+31	+23
Work under a white person	3.12	2.46	3.47	3.59	55	41	63	57	+35	+13
Dating a white person	2.71	2.83	2.07	2.17	45	44	23	28	+64	+65
Work side by side with whites	3.40	3.15	3.69	3.55	67	54	79	72	+29	+40
Church: mostly white	2.66	2.42	2.96	2.61	38	31	45	35	+30	+19
School: mostly white	2.55	2.35	2.96	2.57	35	28	44	32	+41	+22
Club: mostly white	2.49	2.16	2.80	2.52	26	15	29	24	+31	+36
Marrying a white person	1.94	1.99	1.53	1.65	25	22	12	17	+41	+34
Total - All Activities	3.04	2.96	3.24	3.13	55	49	60	56	+10	+12

* This refers to the total sample of 582 in 1966 and 638 in 1968. There were no more than six cases missing on any item in either year.

they are not perceived as so threatening to whites.[7] For the opposite reason, Black males may be more assertive of their Blackness.

On the other hand, females are less willing than males for dating and marriage. This is not hard to explain, historically and sociologically, for sex is the area where Black women have been peculliarly victimized.

Female reticence in intimate contacts is corroborated in other studies. The firmest statement of sex differential comes from the Cornell Studies in Intergroup Relations, which produced a great deal of data from four different Negro communities. After elaborate statistical manipulation of the data, Williams affirms,

> Consecutive controls on a variety of relevant variables demonstrates that sex bears a strong and tenacious relation to social distance prejudice in the Negro communities.[8]

With age, marital status, education, interracial contact and organization membership all held constant, Negro females are consistently more "prejudiced" than Negro males. However, this finding may well reflect the fact that the particular social distance instrument used is based exclusively on three or four intimate activities.[9] And as we have stated, it is specifically with regard to intimate activities of direct sexual relevance that our own sample females were less willing to associate than our males.

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[7]Alvin F. Poussaint, "A Negro Psychiatrist on the Black Psyche," quoted from New York Times Magazine, August 20, 1967; reprinted in pp. 24-25 of C. Eric Lincoln, ed., Is Anybody Listening to Black America,(New York: The Seabury Press, 1968.)

[8]Robin M. Williams, Jr., Strangers Next Door. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1964), p. 269.

[9]Ibid., p. 412. The social distance scale used asks, "Do you think you would ever find it a little distasteful:

1. to eat at the same table with a (Ethnic) (sic) person?
2. to dance with a (Ethnic) person?
3. to go to a party and find that most of the people are (Ethnics)?
4. to have a (Ethnic) person marry someone in your family?"

A shortcoming of this scale, in addition to the fact that it is limited entirely to intimate activities, most of which have sexual overtones, is that their answers may reflect something quite different from race feeling. For instance, answers to no. 3 may reflect reaction not to whites but to oneself as a conspicuous individual who seems not to belong, because all the others are different. This question may be a test of one's extrovertism, boldness, self-consciousness, etc., not race feeling.

In individual cases, of course, there was diversity of responses on this score among interviewees. Some females fit the statistical norm; one such said simply "I couldn't be bothered with a white boy." Another explained at greater length:

> At school I was asked out by a few white guys, and didn't go out with them. Number 1: because it wouldn't have been worth the trouble. I would have been harped at by the whites and harped at by the Blacks... Number 2: I wasn't quite sure what they were after, you know their attitudes. I'm afraid to go out with white boys, not so much for fear of what they'll do to me, but I don't like being a curiosity piece, just to see what its like to date a Black girl... If I can't find a Black boy, I'll just sit home till one comes around.

The social interracial climate is the critical consideration in many cases. An attractive vocational high school graduate who had very "nice" dates with white boys, nevertheless hesitated to date whites for fear of social censure. An academic male who also hesitated to date interracially exemplifies the conflict of impulses which may exist within the same person: "Love is where you find it," he declared in his interview, "I'm from North Carolina. If I took my [white] wife there, they'd literally hang me..." He was disgusted at his own brother's dating a white girl, who exploited him financially, but never introduced him to her family, and required him to sneak away before daylight. He himself was unwilling to intermarry.

While the general pattern for both sexes is to reject interracial marriage more than dating, for some individuals, these preferences are reversed, marriage being deemed more secure a relationship than dating; here the decisive variable appears to be not sex or social climate, but individual personality.

With regard to contacts other than sexual, our male-female differential is difficult to compare with the results of other studies. From study to study, the dimensions of interracial feelings, the age of the population, the nature of the probing questions vary and these variations undoubtedly affect the findings. The only tenable conclusion is one of diversity, not consistency. A 15-city survey[10] did find a sex differential in the same direction as our own, and much sharper when asking Negro teenagers such questions as whether they believed that "schools with mostly Negro children should have mostly Negro teachers," or that "Negroes should have nothing to do with whites if they could help it." Young males were more "separatist" than young females.

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[10] Campbell and Schuman, op. cit., p. 18.

In-School/Out-of-School Differentials in Willingness to Associate

When we compare dropouts and high school seniors, our findings in 1968 are consistent with those of 1966, as well as with the results of many other studies which have found socioeconomic correlates of prejudice. The dropout population registered markedly less complete willingness to associate than the in-school population. Still the size of the dropout/in-school differential declined in thirteen activities, increasing only in two. These two were the atypical items of dating and marriage. The rank order of the fifteen items was not very different from what it was in 1966.

In 1966, we reported more than ten percentage points difference between the sets (in- and out-of-school) of "complete willingness" scores in the case of every activity, except marriage and dating, where of course the index was consistently low. In 1968 this ten percentage point differential occurred in only about half the items.

Nevertheless, the average school status differential continued to exceed the sex differential, testifying to the prepotence of socio-economic over sexual influences on interracial attitudes.

In general, although the 1966 pattern of sex and school status differentials persists in 1968, we find a moving closer together of different segments of the Black population. Sometimes increased acceptance by out-of-school youth, particularly females, coincided with decreased acceptance of whites by high school seniors. The fact that the disaffection of in-school youth shows particularly in the job situations (working side by side with whites, working under whites) and with regard to predominantly white schools is relevant to practical problems. These are activities most crucial to the overall status of Black Americans, areas where some of the greatest efforts toward integration have been made. The implications of this pattern in terms of current political issues such as school desegregation will be considered in the concluding chapter.

Factors Influencing Degree of Willingness to Associate

An effort was made in 1966 to correlate the extent of willingness with the usual socioeconomic variables: parental education and occupation and the youths' own mobility expectations. This effort was comprehensive and involved a variety of approaches. Among others a gamma coefficient measurement of the correlation between the socio-economic variables and the fifteen separate activities for each sex and school status subsample was used. Results were largely negative. This convinced us that no one of these variables by itself was likely to be a salient influence on willingness to associate with whites in 1968; therefore, our approach this year was less intensive. It too produced no significant correlations.

TABLE 8

PER CENT COMPLETELY WILLING TO ASSOCIATE IN DIFFERENT ACTIVITIES BY SCHOOL STATUS*

ACTIVITY	In-School		Dropout		Difference between In-School and Dropout	
	1966 N=471	1968 N=483	1966 N=111	1968 N=155	1966	1968
White teacher	84	80	46	60	38	20
School : mostly Negro, few whites	82	80	71	73	11	7
Work side by side with whites	81	70	47	44	34	26
Church: mostly Negro, few whites	81	72	60	62	21	10
School: half Negro, half white	77	71	55	58	22	13
Church: half Negro, half white	76	68	58	51	18	17
Club: half Negro, half white	75	66	42	50	33	16
Club : mostly Negro	74	66	51	57	23	9
Close white friend	70	67	46	52	24	15
Work under a white person	66	50	36	49	30	1
Church : mostly white	45	36	29	24	16	12
School : mostly white	44	31	24	26	20	5
Dating a white person	32	39	28	22	4	17
Club : mostly white	30	19	18	19	12	0
Marrying a white person	17	22	16	11	1	11
Average of all activities:	62	56	42	44	24	12

* This refers to the total sample of 582 in 1966 and 638 in 1968. There were no more than six cases missing on any item in either year.

In 1966 the relationship between willingness and previous interracial contact with white fellow students was more positive. Contacts within the school were not so influential, but when we calculated the gamma coefficient between each individual item on our willingness list and the degree of outside-of-school social contact, a strong and statistically significant correlation was noted for most activities. Among the subsamples, academics of both sexes were more sensitive to this social influence. These data seemed to demonstrate that Negro youth with a history of informal voluntary experiences (not merely intra-institution contacts) would be ready for a diversity of further interracial associations.

The 1968 questions regarding previous interracial dealings was not limited to fellow students because most D. C. high schools had become virtually Black. For this reason we asked about previous dealings with whites in a variety of settings, including neighborhoods, clubs or organizations, on the job and in the home. As in 1966, most respondents reported some kind of previous contact with whites. Less than five per cent said they had no personal dealings at all. Two-thirds had had at least some contact in schools, and an equal proportion on the job; almost half had had white neighbors; a third belonged to the same clubs and organizations; and close to half reported mixing socially with whites in intimate home situations. We were reminded that the very fact of the numerical racial ratio results in Negroes having more contacts with whites than whites do with Negroes.

For statistical purposes, we divided our respondents' interracial dealings into two categories, casual and close, reserving the latter category exclusively for "friends with whom you mixed socially in your home, their home or anywhere else." Statistical connections between closeness of past contact and present willingness to associate were negligible and inconsistent except for the relationship which surprisingly, was an inverse one, between previous close contact and willingness to marry. As shown on Table 9, this inverse relationship prevails for all subgroups except malevocationals. To a much lesser extent, the same is true with reference to dating. We find no simple explanation for these phenomena, either in our own data or in the literature on intergroup relations. Sherif's well known experiments on dealing with the variable of intergroup contact, show that conflicting groups do not reconcile completely until they have specifically that kind of contact involved in working together to achieve a common good which cannot be accomplished without joint participation.[11] Similarly Pettigrew's

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[11] M. Sherif, O. J. Harvey, B. J. White, W. R. Hood, and Carolyn Sherif: Intergroup Conflict and Cooperation: The Robbers Cave Experiment (Norman, Oklahoma: Institute of Group Relations, 1961.) See also M. Sherif, "Superordinate Goals in Reduction of Intergroup Conflict," American Journal of Sociology, LXIII (January, 1958), pp. 349-56.

T A B L E 9

WILLINGNESS TO ASSOCIATE IN SELECTED ACTIVITIES
FOR SCHOOL STATUS AND SEX SUBSAMPLES
BY NATURE OF PREVIOUS INTERRACIAL CONTACTS
BY MEAN WILLINGNESS SCORES

Subsample	Marriage		Dating	
	Casual	Close	Casual	Close
Academic				
Males	2.53	2.31	3.40	3.38
Females	2.16	2.03	2.71	2.63
Vocational				
Males	2.14	2.50	3.04	3.38
Females	2.38	1.98	2.70	2.68
Dropout				
Males	2.09	1.76	2.73	2.65
Females	1.56	1.12	2.24	1.97

research summary of prerequisites for successful desegregation include the requirements that both groups

> (1) possess approximately equal status, (2) seek common goals, (3) are cooperatively dependent upon one another, and (4) interact with the positive support of authorities, law or custom.[12]

Among our subjects there were many whose previous contacts with whites had met the criteria named above, but who did not have interest in further contacts. Constructive relationships had been established but they were situationally limited. One of our interviewees, who cooperated on the football field with white team mates on a predominantly white team, explained,

> Off the football field we didn't interact at all. I interacted with a few Italian boys who I played with, but that was it... I always know they (white team mates) didn't dig me and they always knew I didn't dig them.

The same syndrome applied in the case of another interviewee, a Black soldier, who reported that even his closest white buddies confined their contacts to the army base, and regarded any non-military situation as off-limits for interracial friendships.

Thus Blacks who have known whites best, may also come to anticipate most realistically the limits to interracial cordiality. This would explain how respondents with the closest social contacts, who visited back and forth in the homes of white friends, were less sanguine about interracial dating and marriage.

Elsewhere we have also found evidence that interracial familiarity far from being a solvent of hostility, may breed contempt. This interracial phenomenon of the situational limits of even voluntary, non-institutional friendliness merits further investigation.

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[12]Thomas F. Pettigrew, A Profile of the Negro American. (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1964), p. 168.

CHAPTER IV

CRITERIA FOR SELECTING WHITE AND NEGRO ASSOCIATES

In 1966 our 15 willingness items were followed by several open-ended questions intended to discover whether and on what bases discriminations were made among different whites:

1. Do you feel the same way towards all white people? Yes___ No___
   If no - then
   a. With what kinds of white people would you be most willing to associate?
   b. With what kinds of white people would you be most unwilling to associate?

The questions you have just answered tell how you feel about associating with different kinds of white people. Now just two questions about associating with different kinds of Negroes.

2. Do you feel the same way towards all Negroes? Yes___ No___
   a. With what kinds of Negroes would you be most willing to associate?
   b. With what kinds of Negroes would you be most unwilling to associate?

Approaches in other studies to this problem of preferences for particular interracial associates did not meet our needs. For instance Rokeach[1] focusing on values and beliefs, found with both Negroes and whites that ". . . preferences are made primarily on the basis of belief congruence rather than on a basis of ethnic or racial congruence," but we did not wish to confine our inquiry to just these two variables. Dealing specifically with a population of Negroes (adults) in New Orleans, Cothran[2] included the following open-ended questions in oral interviews: "What is the best type of white person that you know? Why?" and "What is the worst type of white person that you know? Why?" Our concern was not with best and worst, but with acceptable and non-acceptable. Therefore, to minimize research bias and to permit each respondent to choose his own bases for classifying whites, we used

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[1] Milton Rokeach, The Open and Closed Mind, (New York: Basic Books, 1960), p. 134.

[2] Tilman Cothran, "Negro Stereotyped Conceptions of White People," Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. p. 334.

this phrasing: "With what kinds of whites are you most willing to associate?"

Our 1966 finding was that 85 per cent of our respondents did not feel the same way towards all whites. In selecting which ones they were willing to associate with, they mainly asked themselves three questions: (1) what are their attitudes toward Negroes; (2) what are their other attitudes (non-interracial) and personal traits; and (3) what are their socioeconomic (class) status and attitudes. By far the most frequent criterion was how do these whites feel toward Negroes in a racial context. To a much lesser extent were they concerned with the white individual's personal attitudes and traits or his socio-economic class characteristics.

On the other hand, in selecting Negro associates, our subjects were not so interested in a person's interracial attitudes and were far more interested in his personal and class characteristics.

These findings led to our construct of the contingency factor, a term which we use to mean that Negro interracial attitudes are conditioned by and conditional upon white interracial attitudes.

In the prepotency of this contingency factor as well as in other ways, the Negro interracial attitudes we studied did not conform to conventional definitions of prejudice. Lacking to a great extent were such essential properties of "prejudice" as ethnocentrism; rigidity; antipathy and an unwarranted, irrational character.

Hence, a theoretical modification was suggested of the concept of minority group prejudice, to include the contingency factor, formulated thus: Negro disposition toward whites is contingent on white predisposition toward Negroes.

We anticipated that the contingency factor would be less relevant in 1968: it did not seem to fit in with the mood of a new breed of Black youth demanding rights, fist-clenched, not beseeching favors, hat in hand.

Accordingly we made a special effort in coding our open-ended replies, which set forth the criteria for accepting white associates, to ferret out the evidences of independence on the part of our Black respondents. Despite this effort we found a racial criterion was the paramount consideration in selecting white associates. Some of the racially-oriented answers of 1968 duplicated, almost word for word, the 1966 version of the contingency factor. For example,

> I think the kind of white people I would be most willing to associate with would have to have respect for me and to treat me as an equal. I don't want them to act as though they are better than me. I want them to make me feel like I belong!!

T A B L E 10

CRITERIA FOR WILLINGNESS TO ASSOCIATE

WITH WHITES AND NEGROES

KINDS OF	Per Cent Who Base Their Association On White or Negro Person's						Per Cent who say "all" whites/Negroes are the same.	
	Racial Attitudes towards Negro		Personal Traits		"Class" Qualities			
	1966	1968	1966	1968	1966	1968	1966	1968
Whites								
accepted	66	68	34	58	9	4	14	15
rejected	75	77	12	28	14	9	—	—
Negroes								
accepted	22	43	58	54	32	24	6	13
rejected	33	58	31	22	47	37	--	--

The author of the above willingness statement wrote the following unwillingness statement:

> I have known white people to treat you like dirt as if you are something to be walked on. They can give you a nasty look to make you want to strike out at them. The white people who can't see us as human beings just as they are.

Similarly, a young lady in a dropout program declared that she was unwilling to associate with those who

> try to hurt my feelings when I am around their place or try to just plain, oh,well try to make me seem as if I were dirt.

and a young man in a dropout program favored 'some white people who like Negroes." A vocational high student was unwilling to associate with 'whites who call me 'nigger' and treat me as if I had a contagious disease.'

Other racially-oriented answers, however, took a less defensive, more assertive turn. Some, as in 1966, faulted whites who over-identified, or tried too hard to ingratiate themselves with Blacks. One commented orally, "I don't want anybody to lay down at my feet," and another elucidated:

> I have been particularly willing to associate with those who are not quite as eager to have you like them but with those who accept you and want to be accepted exactly like they are.

Many times the youth in our study seemed to be asserting their own option in setting terms for interracial association. Their acceptance would go exclusively to those whites who were <u>authentically</u> free from prejudice. "Checking them out to see that they're for real" is how one of our young Black co-workers interpreted it, as respondents specified 'ones who do not condescend to Negroes,' or 'decent everyday white people who aren't trying to be prejudiced, biased or supremist,' or "ones that I felt are sincerely interested in our 'Black culture' thus excluding the 'honkies,' conservatives and white separatist writers.' It was not merely what a white purported to be, but what he actually was. And far from waiting for the white nod of approval, the Black would be his own judge of interracial acceptability.

Thus the old 'contingency' strands of submissiveness intertwined with new strands of aggressiveness in a tangled skein of Black interracial attitude. All in all,over two-thirds of our respondents used some form of racial criteria for acceptance of white associates and three-fourths used such bases for rejecting whites. These proportions were almost exactly the same as in 1966.

In contrast to this constant ratio of respondents whose choices were racially-oriented, the proportion who were concerned with the personal attitudes and traits of whites rose in 1968. The nature of

the personal traits and attitudes mentioned again resembled those mentioned in 1966 : for instance kindness, honesty, intelligence, pleasantness, congeniality. In addition, there was an emphasis on mutuality of choice which may have been greater than in 1966 when the contingency element reflected a racial dependency. Repeatedly there was criticism of the "slyness" of whites. For example, one young lady distrusted 'whites who have money. They can be more sly. They sneak away to have their baby if they are pregnant." Age was sometimes a consideration, usually favoring the younger whites who were more likely to be, as one respondent wrote, "the kind that dress, drink, fight, talk like Negro."

Behind such personal criteria and others which may seem less specific (such as 'white people who have the type of personality that would not cause me to look at them as anything but my friends") are often hidden racial referents. Complicating as this may be for our classification system, it is significant for our understanding of the social fact of race in contemporary personal relationships.

Class qualities of whites, of very minor relevance in 1966, declined to negligible proportions in 1968.

In general, a greater number of reasons were enumerated for rejecting than accepting whites. Avoidance was seldom due to personal barriers, even though racial bases for rejection exceeded those for acceptance. As noted in 1966, only when and if these young Blacks get beyond the categorical barriers of race could they be expected to consider whites on individual, personal terms. This accords with the psychological thesis that we tend to think in individual terms about people we like and know, and in categorical terms about those whom we dislike and therefore don't know, or don't know and therefore dislike.

There is little, if anything, in these replies synonymous with the contempt for the "white liberal" which is frequently articulated by contemporary Black spokesmen. There is no evidence of the now familiar allegation that the white liberal is at heart a racist who thinks he has

> always known what is best for black people. Ever so slightly under the surface was the conviction that blacks were not capable of thinking for themselves or building institutions of their own.[1]

It is with regard to the choice of Black associates that growing race awareness is illustrated. Some sort of racial consideration figured in the selection of Negro associates almost twice as often in

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[1]Philip Hoblidge, Assistant for Human Resources to Mayor Walter Washington, Washington, D. C. quoted in The Washington Post, February 8, 1970, p. B1.

1968 as in 1966. It was respect for self and other Blacks, as Blacks, and a sense of racial solidarity that were most typically stipulated. For example, one academic senior favored

> Negroes who feel they are just as good as a white. Ones who want to better themselves in the world today. The Negroes who believe in what they stand for and are trying to do something about themselves in a very non-violent way.

However, in interviews we were reminded that 'Blacks have racial hang-ups too.' Frequent criticisms were centered on two kinds of fellow-Blacks: 1) those who never made an effort 'to make something of themselves" and 2) those who did "make something of themselves" but felt no obligation to help their brothers whom they had left behind. For instance, the young lady whose statement about acceptance was just quoted also wrote:

> The Negroes I would be most unwilling to associate with are those who do not try to better themselves. The ones who don't care about themselves, the ones who don't mind being treated any kind of way. And most of all those who really have the ability, brains, and initiative to better themselves but don't give themselves half a chance.

"I dig all Black people - bourgeois hustlers, in the end <u>all</u> Black people," one vocational senior asserted. But when prodded by the interviewer to make some distinctions, he specified:

> I least like those cats who come out of the ghetto, get lucky and make it big, and then just forget about Black people altogether, kind of acting like white people... They move out of the slums and look down on their own people.

Summary

Analysis of this portion of our questionnaire substantiates the impression presented earlier in this 1968 report, an impression of a somewhat more racially aware but not drastically altered young Negro. It does not demonstrate a reversal of the contingency element - often there continues to be a priority concern with white predisposition, but this was combined with - perhaps sometimes clashing, sometimes blending - the tendency to self-assertiveness and race-assertiveness.

CHAPTER V

SELF-IDENTIFICATION

Class Self-Identification

In 1966 we noted that the dropout sample registered markedly less complete willingness to associate interracially than the in-school sample, not explicable by the usual objective socioeconomic class variables, parental education or parental occupation. What then was the factor (or factors) inherent in school status that consistently affected interracial attitude?

In 1968, we approached this question by asking for our respondents' self-identifications in this fashion

I think of myself as: (Circle the letter next to all the terms that fit you)

a. American
b. working class
c. rich
d. Black
e. lower class
f. Afro-American
g. middle class
h. colored person
i. Black American
j. Negro
k. upper class
l. poor
m. other What?_____

There are good sociological reasons for dealing with class subjectively in terms of self-identification. Peoples' actions are often better explained by their subjective perceptions than by objective circumstance, by their reference groups than by their membership groups.

In the format quoted above, 50 per cent of our respondents identified themselves as middle class and almost 40 per cent as working class. Less than ten per cent checked lower class and even fewer, less than five per cent, checked upper class.

To compare these self-evaluations with objective socioeconomic circumstances we refer back to Chapter II. Our tally of parental

occupation places only about 26 per cent of them in white collar occupations - about 19 per cent of the fathers and 35 per cent of the mothers. Occupation is perhaps the best single indicator of class status, but is not by itself definitive, particularly when dealing with the complexities of class among Negroes. For, as a result of the character of the Negro's minority status in the United States, class status in the Negro community does not parallel class status in the broader community. White collar occupations and higher education which normally carry prestige in both communities have often carried relatively greater prestige within the Negro community, yet they command relatively lower income for the Black worker than for the comparable white worker.[1]

When 50 per cent of our respondents checked themselves off as "middle class" we do not know on what basis they did so, e.g., parental occupation, income, education and/or their own education, income, aspirations.

Nor are there recent inquiries into social class among Negroes which provide sufficient guidance into the criteria of class self-evaluation, or even evaluation on more objective criteria. Several years ago when the present investigator asked 130 Negro sociology students at Howard University to identify themselves anonymously by socioeconomic class, about three-fourths called themselves "middle class" explaining that they based their classification primarily on "money," secondarily on "family" and "education." Formal sociological inquiries into current stratification in the Negro community have used objective criteria such as occupation and income and have yielded contradictory results, varying widely with author and with criteria.

The classic statement of the Negro middle class is, of course, E. Franklin Frazier's Black Bourgeoisie. Writing originally in 1957 when occupational differentiation of the Negro population was remarkably rapid, Frazier identified the new Black bourgeoisie as the approximately one-sixth of employed Negro men in four major occupational groups: professional and technical; managers, officials and proprietors; clericals, sales, etc., plus craftsmen, foremen, etc. Obviously the upper stratum of this "Black bourgeoisie" includes the minimal few who might now be called "upper class"; but Frazier made no such subclassification; he did say that

> the occupational group - craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers - ... constitutes on the whole the lower middle class and is therefore identified with the black bourgeoisie.[2]

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[1]U. S. Department of Commerce, Trends in Social and Economic Conditions in Metropolitan Areas, (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1969), pp.26 and 49.

[2]E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie.(New York: The MacMillan Company, 1966), p. 47.

Updating this estimate on the basis of 1960 occupational distribution, G. Franklin Edwards observed in 1966,

> The Negro middle class today includes a still relatively small, but expanding, number of persons. If occupation is used as a criterion for determining membership and those in professional and technical, clerical, sales, and skilled occupations are included, only approximately 26 per cent of all nonwhite workers belong to the middle class...[3]

Based on 1966 income figures, Andrew Billingsley derived a larger estimate of the size of the Negro middle class.

> ... roughly half of all Negro families may be considered lower class, about 40 per cent middle class and about ten per cent upper class. If we consider family income as an index of social class, 56 per cent of Negro families earned less than $7000, 32 per cent earned between $7000 and $10,000. There is a high, though by no means perfect, correlation among income, education, and occupation of family head.[4]

Billingsley's 40 per cent middle and upper class estimates based on occupation are inflated compared to those of other scholars, although his 32 per cent income based estimates are similar to those of other scholars. For example, Eli Ginsburg estimates, even when he uses the concept middle class "loosely," that in the middle 1960s

> the Negro middle class includes roughly one-third of the 21 million American Negroes - those who have incomes above the poverty level, stability of employment and reasonable opportunities for education.[5]

Compared to any of these estimates or to the national estimate that 22 per cent of employed nonwhites are in white-collar occupations[6] our respondents' 50 per cent "middle class" check-off appears to be an overstatement. It is also considerably higher than the proportion of our sample who reported parents in white-collar occupations. It is apparent that class self-identification contains an upward bias compared to class identification by more objective criteria.

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[3]G. Franklin Edwards, "Community and Class Realities," Daedalus (Winter 1966), p. 14.

[4]Andrew Billingsley, Black Families in White America (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1968), p. 7.

[5]Eli Ginsberg and Associates, The Middle-Class Negro in the White Man's World (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), pp. 5-6.

[6]U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Recent Trends in Social and Economic Conditions of Negroes in the United States, (Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 16.

Over half of our young people affiliated themselves with more than one class. The reasons for this are also subject to speculation. A considered judgment of dual status may be involved - one in a Negro community context and another in a general American class system. More likely it may reflect a lack of concern about class-identification, or a kind of ambiguity about the class terms themselves. For example, one self identified "middle class" young lady who was employed clerically at the time of her interview, also checked "working class," because, as she explained, "I work for a living."

It will be noted from Table 11 that class categories do not strictly parallel school status categories. Sex differentials within the school status subgroups further prevent generalizations about the class perceptions of persons within different school status groups. For example, the female dropouts do show a significantly greater portion of "lower class" and "poor" self-designations than other females. Female dropouts are least likely of all subgroups to choose the "middle class" term. They differ from their male counterparts on this score almost as much as they differ from other sex-school status subgroups. We have a female dropout picture, duplicated in other contexts, of a realistic, low-income group with an image of themselves based on the actual economic facts of life. They were in training for white-collar positions, but they expected that these would be in the lower-paying clerical ranks and that they were not slated for full middle-class status. Their personal appearance of upward-mobility noted in Chapter II probably signified aspiration for a rise in status from what Billingsley calls the "nonworking poor" through the "working poor" up to the "working nonpoor."[7]

The vocational females were the most class-oriented subgroup almost two-thirds of them chose middle-class terminology and almost half of them also chose the working class designation.

Academics of both sexes also regarded themselves primarily as middle class.

The possible relations between these subjective classifications and interracial attitudes will be explored in the next two sections.

Class Self-Identification and Willingness to Associate

Although neither in 1966 or in 1968 does our willingness index correlate with parental occupation or education, in 1968 it does relate somewhat to class self-identification. Table 12 shows how persons of various class and economic self-identification felt about associating with whites in different situations and circumstances. In general,

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[7]Billingsley, op. cit., p. 9.

TABLE 11

ECONOMIC AND SOCIOECONOMIC SELF-IDENTIFICATION
BY SEX AND SCHOOL STATUS, BY PER CENT*

SOCIOECONOMIC SELF-IDENTIFICATION	TOTAL	ACADEMIC		VOCATIONAL		DROPOUT	
	N=638	Male N=100	Female N=158	Male N=89	Female N=117	Male N=84	Female N=71
Lower Class	7	10	3	3	4	11	14
Working Class	39	35	38	27	47	52	39
Middle Class	53	59	60	52	64	49	24
Upper Class	3	8	2	2	0	6	0
Poor	11	7	5	5	8	14	38
Rich	2	8	0	0	2	4	0

* Percentages for the entire population or for any subgroup may add to more or to less than 100 per cent because some respondents circled more than one class term while others may have circled none at all.

T A B L E 12

WILLINGNESS AND UNWILLINGNESS TO ASSOCIATE
WITH WHITES IN DIFFERENT ACTIVITIES
BY ECONOMIC AND SOCIOECONOMIC SELF-IDENTIFICATION
BY PER CENT*

ACTIVITY	Total N=638		Middle Class N=336		Working Class N=252		Lower Class N=42		Poor N=68	
	W	U	W	U	W	U	W	U	W	U
Club: mostly white	54	25	54	28	53	26	47	24	45	39
Club: mostly Negro, few whites	90	5	92	4	91	4	91	4	86	5
Club: half Negro, half white	85	7	87	5	86	7	81	14	86	3
Marrying a white person	33	39	35	38	32	39	27	40	19	53
Work under a white person	79	11	81	9	75	13	76	16	76	10
Work side by side with whites	85	6	88	5	80	8	79	14	72	9
Church: mostly white	59	25	59	23	57	25	49	36	48	35
Church: half Negro, half white	85	7	86	6	81	9	74	21	79	9
Church: mostly Negro, few whites	89	6	90	5	85	5	86	12	84	4
Dating a white person	57	25	59	22	53	26	59	24	32	43
Close white friend	84	6	87	5	81	7	81	12	69	10
White teacher	89	5	91	4	90	4	90	5	79	12
School: mostly white	58	25	60	24	57	29	62	28	41	40
School: half Negro, half white	87	5	90	5	86	5	76	16	82	9
School: mostly Negro, few whites	93	3	94	2	94	3	88	7	91	4

* Willingness combines completely willing with somewhat willing; and unwilling combines completely unwilling with somewhat unwilling.

similarities of willingness attitudes prevailed across self-designated socioeconomic lines, with some noteworthy variations. Those who labeled themselves 'poor" were often the ones who most rejected interracial association. People of all classes were generally unwilling to marry whites, but "poor" were the least willing of all. They more than most, eschewed white intimacies in clubs, dating and friendship. Most markedly, they preferred to avoid predominantly white schools, and churches where the styles and standards were unfamiliar, uncongenial and/or unattainable. In some of these activities their reluctance was shared by the self-identified "lower class."

The self-identified "upper class" respondents were too few to warrant generalization, but their views are consistent with Frazier's observation that the Black bourgeoisie have a vested interest in retaining certain structural separations Blacks and whites. For example, they energetically rejected working under whites. On the other hand, as an elite, they may have had congenial contacts with white peers. Therefore, they could look with favor upon close relationships with individual whites of both sexes.

While "middle class" willingness generally exceeded that in other categories, the patterns of "middle" and "working class" often resembled each other. This is not at all surprising since almost half of those who called themselves "middle class" also checked "working class."

Class Self-Identification and Racial Issues

In our next chapter we will discuss in detail the section of our questionnaire which deals with our population's attitude to public issues. As was true with regard to personal willingness to associate, similarities of attitudes on racial issues across self-designated socioeconomic lines stand out more than differences.

Though differences between subsamples were generally slight, it was the "poor" who fit least into the general mold of respondents and who were most dissociated from white America. For example, while 65 per cent of them endorsed the statement that "some whites are sincerely willing to accept Negroes as equals" this was a much lower percentage than among persons in the other categories; more of them felt that "most whites want to keep the Negroes down"; less than half, fewer than in any other category, had enough optimism to concur that "mostly things are getting better for Negroes in this country." They were less in favor of non-violent demonstrations, more convinced (along with the self-designated "lower class") that riots and violence were necessary and, that "Negroes cannot be free until they have a country of their own."

As in other contexts, "middle class" views were most closely assimilated with the total American society, and were approximated by the self-designated "working class."

T A B L E 13

AGREEMENT AND DISAGREEMENT WITH PARTICULAR RACIAL ISSUES
BY ECONOMIC AND SOCIOECONOMIC SELF-IDENTIFICATION, BY PER CENT*

RACIAL ISSUES	Total N=638		Middle Class N=336		Working Class N=252		Lower Class N=42		Poor N=68	
	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D
1.Some whites are sincerely willing to accept Negroes as equals.	79	10	82	8	78	10	79	7	65	17
2.Voting is an important way to get equal rights.	68	18	69	18	68	20	62	26	59	26
3.Looting is just "getting even with Whitey" who has cheated Negroes.	39	45	37	47	42	43	40	43	41	35
4.Regardless how much money or education a Negro gets,he is not accepted the same as whites.	72	18	71	21	75	18	71	12	75	10
5.The government is too slow in pushing equal rights for Negroes.	83	6	80	6	82	7	79	14	81	9
6.Non-violent demonstrations are important ways of getting equal rights.	66	17	70	16	64	20	55	26	49	31
7.In Negro communities,Negroes should own and operate their own businesses,banks,schools, etc.	52	28	50	32	48	33	67	13	53	28
8.Anyone who is willing to work hard can get ahead in the U.S	64	26	68	21	65	23	48	48	50	37
9.Racial problems should be left to the courts and congress.	24	54	24	53	24	55	24	57	32	54
10.White persons can't really understand what it is like to be a Negro.	75	14	75	13	74	17	76	14	79	10
11.Negroes cannot be equal until there is complete mixing of the races thru intermarriage.	21	54	21	56	23	55	17	52	22	54
12.Most whites want to keep the Negro down.	58	22	58	22	62	21	60	19	66	18

* Agreement combines strongly agree with somewhat agree; and disagreement combines strongly disagree with somewhat disagree.

TABLE 13 (CONTINUED)

AGREEMENT AND DISAGREEMENT WITH PARTICULAR RACIAL ISSUES
BY ECONOMIC AND SOCIOECONOMIC SELF-IDENTIFICATION BY PER CENT*

RACIAL ISSUES	Total N-638		Middle Class N-336		Working Class N-252		Lower Class N=42		Poor N-68	
	A	U	A	U	A	U	A	U	A	U
13. Private property owners should have the right to refuse to sell to Negroes if they want to do so.	27	58	27	60	25	61	31	52	32	51
14. Riots and violence are necessary for Negro progress.	20	61	18	68	21	63	33	43	29	44
15. Low class Negroes have nothing to offer society.	12	70	14	70	13	71	19	62	15	66
16. Looting is bad even when everyone is doing it.	73	15	79	10	75	13	62	12	19	44
17. Negroes cannot be free until they have a country of their own.	16	67	11	73	13	71	31	45	26	53
18. Middle-class Negroes are not doing their part to help poor Negroes.	51	27	50	29	49	30	67	14	56	26
19. Negro soldiers in Vietnam have as much to gain or lose as white soldiers there.	37	44	37	43	38	46	33	48	37	53
20. Mostly, things are getting better for Negroes in this country.	60	19	61	17	60	19	55	24	43	40

* Agreement combines strongly agreed with somewhat agreed; and disagreement combines strongly disagree with somewhat disagree.

On the whole, this analysis of interracial opinions in terms of economic and socioeconomic categories of the population reinforces our impression that there is diversity within rather narrow limits, not polarization, of the young Negro population.

The fact that class self-designation was not a strong indicator of the several kinds of attitudes we examined, may signify that it is too broad a category. Subgroups within each class may have different life styles, different interracial problems, and different ways of coping with them. This diversity is suggested by Billingsley's description of the several class subdivisions:

> Within this upper class group, however, are two upper classes rather than one. The first and perhaps most traditional Negro upper class is composed of the 'old families.' These are families with long histories of privilege, achievement, and social status... At the same time, there are other and slowly increasing numbers of Negro upper class families, headed by men who made it to the top in one generation, whose parents and grandparents before them were poor...
>
> Negro middle class families are more familiar. There are, however, three distinct groupings. There are the upper middle class families, the solid middle class families, and the precarious middle class. These are distinguished by educational, income and occupational achievement, but also by styles of family life, and by the security of their hold on middle class status.
>
> Finally, there are the lower classes, where perhaps half of all Negro families are located. Again, however, there are several groupings, which may be distinguished by the occupational history and security of their heads, as well as by education, income, and the like. Starting from the top of the lower class, then, we may identify the 'working nonpoor,' the'working poor,' and the'non-working poor.' The first group of families is headed by men who have a stable and secure niche in the unionized industrial sector of the economy. They are likely to be semiskilled on the basis of on-the-job experience. The largest group of lower class families, however, may be described as the working poor. Their heads work in unskilled and service occupations with marginal incomes, which often range downward from $3,000 per year. The final group of lower class families is the one about which most information appears in the literature and in the public press. Comprising about a quarter of all lower class Negro families, it is largely peopled by men and women who are unemployed or intermittently employed, supported by relatives and friends or by public welfare.[8]

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[8]Billingsley, op. cit., pp. 8-9.

Racial and Ethnic Self-Identification

With regard to racial and ethnic self-identification it is immediately apparent in Table 14 that almost three-fourths of our population regarded themselves as "American." Among the subgroups, the range was from a low of 59 per cent for the female dropouts to a high of 87 per cent for the female vocationals. As in other contexts, the female dropouts had identified least with the total American society, while the female vocationals were the most closely identified.

Cross-tabulations between the various socioeconomic and ethnic racial self-designations in Table 15 clarify that the "Black" self-image is often a supplementary reference term, neither conflicting with "Negro," nor clearly class-linked. Almost half of those who considered themselves "Black" also considered themselves "middle class," while over a third considered themselves "working class." Most persons who selected "American" also selected racial terms, but more of these chose "Negro" than "Black."[9]

It was also surprising that "Black" was <u>not</u> the most popular racial term with this young population, nor was it a racially exclusive one for those who chose it. Only about 38 per cent selected a "Black" term of identification, while almost two-thirds chose "Negro." A majority of "Blacks" also regarded themselves as "Negroes," although only about one-third of the "Negroes" called themselves "Black."

As expected, it was the vocationals who least endorsed the Black terminology, and the dropouts did so most. As one dropout explained, he had accepted the term "Negro" until he was "given insight on the term... it was the tag put on us by the white man."

Thus, for some the "Black" usage carried more dignity; for others on the contrary, it still carried the opprobrium of former days. Most interviewees, however, used the terms interchangeably.

Self-designated "Negroes" probably thought in terms of class more than those who called themselves "Black." At any rate, they selected more of each of the class terms and did not confine themselves to only one class term but checked several. Still their middle class choices exceeded their own working class choices.

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[9]Table 14 shows separately the proportion who said "Black" and separately the proportion who said "Black American," as well as the percentage who selected <u>either or both</u> of the "Black" terms offered. For the sake of simplicity it is the combined (either or both) group which we will call "Black" in the discussions or tabulations to follow.

T A B L E 14

ETHNIC AND RACIAL SELF-IDENTIFICATION
BY SEX AND SCHOOL STATUS, BY PER CENT*

ETHNIC & RACIAL SELF-IDENTIFICATION	TOTAL	ACADEMIC		VOCATIONAL		DROPOUT	
	N=638	Male N=100	Female N=158	Male N=89	Female N=117	Male N=84	Female N=71
American	73	71	79	65	87	68	59
Negro	63	61	65	57	79	57	52
**Black and/or Black-American	35	40	32	29	29	61	59
Colored	31	39	28	26	33	37	28
Black-American	29	25	23	25	21	48	48
Black	26	33	25	17	16	42	30
Afro-American	16	15	8	16	13	29	27

* Percentages for the entire population or for any subgroup may add up to more than 100 per cent since most respondents checked several terms.

** Includes respondents who checked either or both the terms "Black" and "Black-American."

T A B L E 15

PERSONS SELECTING SPECIFIED SELF-IDENTIFICATIONS
OR
COMBINATIONS OF MULTIPLE SELF-IDENTIFICATIONS

SELF-IDENTIFICATIONS	Total Persons With or Without Additional Identification	Additional Self-Identifications								
		Negro	Colored Person	Black and/or Black-American	American	Afro-American	Working Class	Upper Class	Middle Class	Lower Class
Negro	402	---	159	138	351	44	184	10	250	26
Colored Person	198	159	---	88	174	29	110	13	121	16
Black and/or Black-American	243	138	88	---	150	72	94	4	119	31
American	464	351	174	150	---	47	214	13	279	34
Afro American	102	44	29	72	47	---	39	4	45	10
Working Class	252	184	110	94	214	39	---	10	154	20
Upper Class	19	10	13	4	13	4	10	---	4	2
Middle Class	336	250	121	119	279	45	154	4	---	4
Lower Class	42	26	16	31	34	10	20	2	4	-
Total Persons	638	402	198	243	464	102	252	19	336	42

Racial Self-Identification and Personal Willingness to Associate with Whites

Self-designated "Blacks" were, as expected, invariably less willing than the self-designated 'Negro' to associate with whites. The 'colored' person is quite consistently in the intermediary position, usually resembling the Negro more than the Black. However, whatever the racial self-designation, the range of acceptability for a particular activity is generally slight, the average Negro-Black differential being about ten percentage points.

Thus we observed very little separatist viewpoint in the Washington, D. C. Negro youth population in 1968. The majority of "Blacks" did exclude all situations on our list which were predominantly white, but 85 to 90 per cent of them were willing to go to schools, churches and clubs which, while predoninantly Black, included some whites. The majority of "Negroes" would willingly engage in all activities with whites whatever the racial ratio, except marriage.

In follow-up interviews also, it was clear that to be pro-Black did not necessarily mean to be anti-white. It did involve a positive ethnic identification, perhaps a priority in loyalties, but by no means a rejection of association with whites.

Racial Self-Designation and Racial Issues

Similarly with regard to issues affecting public racial policy, we found that Black self-identification need not include a rejection of "a system" which is white-dominated. Comparing 'Blacks' and 'Negroes' with respect to their differing positions on our twenty racial issues, we find that while the differentials are consistently in the direction one would expect, their magnitude is slight. To a degree, a contrast between "Blacks'"emphasis on racial solidarity and 'Negroes'" emphasis on identification with the mainstream of American society can be inferred from their answers to certain questions. For example, note greater agreement of "Blacks" with number 12, "most whites want to keep the Negro down." Note their lesser acceptance (compared with Negroes) of the statement regarding the utility of non-violent demonstration, coupled with their greater acceptance of the necessity of riots and violence, and their relative willingness to condone looting. But these contrasts are not as great as the similarities between those who call themselves "Black" and the other segments of the sample, regardless of whether their self-designation is "Negro," or "colored" or "Afro-American."

T A B L E 16

WILLINGNESS AND UNWILLINGNESS TO ASSOCIATE
WITH WHITES IN DIFFERENT ACTIVITIES
BY RACIAL SELF-IDENTIFICATION BY PER CENT*

ACTIVITY	Total N=638		Negro N=402		Colored N=198		Black** N=243	
	W	U	W	U	W	U	W	U
Club: mostly white	54	25	57	24	56	26	37	34
Club: mostly Negro,few whites	90	5	93	4	89	5	87	6
Club: half Negro,half white	85	7	88	4	85	7	79	10
Marrying a white person	33	39	33	38	31	39	24	4
Work under a white person	79	11	82	7	76	11	72	16
Work side by side with whites	85	6	86	6	81	9	76	11
Church: mostly white	59	25	60	22	61	23	49	36
Church: half Negro,half white	85	7	87	6	85	7	76	15
Church: mostly Negro,few whites	89	6	92	3	92	3	85	8
Dating a white person	57	25	55	26	49	28	48	32
Close white friend	84	6	80	5	81	6	76	10
White teacher	89	5	92	4	88	4	83	8
School: mostly white	58	25	59	26	55	31	49	37
School: half Negro,half white	87	5	90	3	85	8	80	10
School: mostly Negro,few whites	93	3	95	2	94	3	90	3

* Willingness combines completely willing with somewhat willing; and unwillingness combines completely unwilling with somewhat unwilling.

** This includes respondents who checked either or both the terms "Black" and "Black-American."

TABLE 17

AGREEMENT AND DISAGREEMENT WITH PARTICULAR RACIAL ISSUES
BY RACIAL SELF-IDENTIFICATION, BY PER CENT*

RACIAL ISSUES	Total N=638		Black** N=243		Afro-American N=102		Negro N=402		Colored N=198	
	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D
1. Some whites are sincerely willing to accept Negroes as equals.	79	10	78	13	82	8	79	9	77	10
2. Voting is an important way to get equal rights.	68	18	69	21	67	11	70	17	65	18
3. Looting is just getting even with Whitey" who has cheated Negroes.	39	45	52	39	50	36	40	46	40	46
4. Regardless how much money or education a Negro gets, he is not accepted the same as whites.	72	18	81	14	73	24	75	16	71	18
5. The government is too slow in pushing equal rights for Negroes.	83	6	91	7	83	5	85	5	71	6
6. Non violent demonstrations are important ways of getting equal rights.	66	17	62	21	65	23	67	15	64	19
7. In Negro communities, Negroes should own and operate their own businesses, banks, schools, etc.	52	28	65	21	62	21	50	31	48	28
8. Anyone who is willing to work hard can get ahead in the U. S.	64	26	58	35	61	32	67	24	69	23
9. Racial problems should be left to the courts and Congress.	24	54	24	61	19	62	24	55	25	55
10. White persons can't really understand what it is like to be a Negro.	75	14	82	10	76	14	77	12	75	11
11. Negroes cannot be equal until there is complete mixing of the races through intermarriage.	21	54	20	57	25	54	23	54	22	56
12. Most whites want to keep the Negro down.	58	22	70	15	68	14	60	22	65	19

* Agreement combines strongly agree with somewhat agree; and disagreement combines strongly disagree with somewhat disagree.

** This includes respondents who checked either or both the terms "Black" and "Black-American.

TABLE 17 (CONTINUED)

AGREEMENT AND DISAGREEMENT WITH PARTICULAR RACIAL ISSUES
BY RACIAL SELF-IDENTIFICATION BY PER CENT*

RACIAL ISSUES	Total N=638		Black** N=243		Afro American N=102		Negro N=402		Colored N=198	
	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D	A	D
13. Private property owners should have the right to refuse to sell to Negroes if they want to do so.	27	58	29	57	22	57	25	60	29	52
14. Riots and violence are necessary for Negro progress.	20	61	33	50	23	54	21	62	25	59
15. Low class Negroes have nothing to offer society.	12	70	10	69	13	69	12	70	14	69
16. Looting is bad even when everyone is doing it.	73	15	68	15	64	20	77	10	71	11
17. Negroes cannot be free until they have a country of their own.	16	67	26	56	18	65	17	67	21	63
18. Middle-class Negroes are not doing their part to help poor Negroes.	51	27	60	23	53	25	51	27	50	26
19. Negro soldiers in Vietnam have as much to gain or lose as white soldiers there.	37	44	28	45	36	48	39	42	40	43
20. Mostly, things are getting better for Negroes in this country.	60	19	58	24	61	21	60	20	61	19

* Agreement combines strongly agree with somewhat agree; and disagreement combines strongly disagree with somewhat disagree.

** This includes respondents who checked either or both the terms "Black" and "Black American."

Interpretation

The term "Black" is not invariably a political one, but there is a latent political potential in even a passive Black identity. To say it is a stylish term is correct, but that is not the whole story.

Few of our 1969 interviewees repudiated "Black" although several vowed that they did not care whether they were called Negro or Black; they told us that they used the latter for the same reason they wore their hair in a "bush" cut: simply because they liked to. In any case, from 1968 to 1969, almost all of our interviewees had come to accept the term "Black," or even to prefer it. Musing over how recently this preference had developed and how unrelated it was to any Black ideology, one remarked, "I used to beat up children who called me Black... I don't understand Black Power or Black Capitalism." Many had come to reject "Negro" angrily because of its original usage, by whites, for slaves. "We were psyched into thinking we were inferior' said one dropout interviewee, but "pure Black people are not Uncle Toms."

However, changes in attitude were not inevitably synchronized with changes in nomenclature. For example, there was one rather thoughtful young man who in a 1969 interview spoke of himself as a "liberal" and disavowed the "Negro" and middle class labels he had selected the year before on his questionnaire: 'I now consider myself Black and not exactly middle class." Nevertheless, when asked how he would condition his children racially, he replied that he would tell them

> people are people... just as my parents tried to tell me... But they (parents) prefer to be called 'Negro' not 'Black'.. they don't care for the 'natural' and such.

While undoubtedly he has some ideological differences with his parents, it is significant that the interracial view he projects onto posterity reflects his parents as well as his contemporaries.

Still, even for those who use it largely because it is in vogue, "Black" is more than "just a name." One scholar writing on 'The Changing Identity of the Negro American," argues that there is always something in a name. He summarizes the series of the terms that have been used for this ethnic category:

> When you begin to trace the matter back in time and it goes back nearly 200 years - you find that the usages have varied and that preferences and arguments have swelled and swirled around a whole collection of labels: blacks, Africans, negroes (with the small "n"), Negroes (with the capitalization which became general usage only after a long struggle that ended only some thirty years ago and has still not ended in much of the South), Coloreds, Colored People, Colored Americans, People of Color, Ethiopians, Racemen, Negrosaxons, African

> Americans, Africo-Americans, Afro-Americans, American Negroes, Negro Americans. Even a brief look into these differences is the beginning of discovery of some of the real inwardness of the Negro identity problem.[10]

None of these terms was purely denotative in its day, and "Black" has come to have its own contemporary connotations for both Blacks and non-Blacks. It is a self-selected term, asserting as a matter of self-respect a color identity that was only recently a mark of shame. It is not a more precise term than "White," which it confronts as opposite and equal. It is a term to make its user glory in his own identity. "Say it out loud," shouts the singer-celebrity, James Brown, "I'm Black and I'm proud!" And his soul brothers and soul sisters shout back their solidarity.

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[10]Harold R. Isaacs in Leonard J. Duhl, editor, The Urban Condition. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1969), p. 282.

CHAPTER VI

RACIAL ISSUES

The Method

Other investigations of minority group "prejudice" have found that interracial feeling on a personal level does not parallel ideology and action; indeed the least hostile individuals may be the most militant activists.[1] To discover whether the high degree of personal willingness to associate with whites in both our 1966 and 1968 populations coexisted with a high degree of acceptance of white-dominated society and its conventional methods for social change, we included in our instrument a series of twenty questions concerning some of the major contemporary racial issues. The responses to these questions also provide an overview of the public opinion of Black youth.

Since there was no established militancy scale sufficiently current and inclusive for our purposes, our own list mirrors a variety of popular concerns. It is eclectic, devised in consultation with the young, Black, Howard University students on our staff. Our statements seek to approach several facets of the racial situation in this country: we want to know our respondents' judgment of (1) how things really are; (2) what goals there should be; and (3) by what methods the goals should be reached.

Originally, the framework of our thinking was that the Black in America might see himself in one of two ways : either as separate from this predominantly white society (separate psychologically and/or economically, historically, and in imperatives for the future) or as identified with this predominantly white society. Subsequently, our findings led us to a less polar, more pluralistic, view. We came to recognize the Black common denominator as a growing sense of ethnic identification, the shared "sense of peoplehood," which Milton Gordon describes as

> ... the social-psychological element of a special sense of both ancestral and future-oriented identification with the

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[1]Marx, op. cit., p. 196

> group. These are the 'people' of my ancestors, therefore, they are my people, and will be the people of my children and their children. With members of other groups I may share political participation, occupational relationships, common civic enterprise, perhaps even an occasional warm friendship, but in a very special way, which history has decreed, I share a sense of indissoluble and intimate identity with this group and not that group within the larger society and the world.[2]

To avoid biasing the results of our survey in the direction of either mainstream orientation or Black orientation we deliberately slanted some of our statements in one direction and some in the other. The tabulated results show no evidence of a response set.

We chose to use the term Negro rather than Black in the twenty statements and our subsequent self-identification findings confirmed this choice. However, we did instruct respondents in writing, that "In any statement, 'Black' may be used instead of 'Negro.'"

Cooperation in responding to the 20 statements was excellent; the no-answer rate never exceeded four per cent.

The General Political Profile

Table 18 presents the average scores and the endorsement and rejection percentages for each question. The prevailing climate of interracial opinion in our youth population may be assessed by focusing on those items which show (1) a very high mean score (above 2.9) or (2) a low one (below 1.5) and/or (3) a substantial endorsement or rejection percentage. None of the points of view emerging from this tabulation evidences an extremist approach. The general profile of our population suggested by Table 19 includes these prominent features: discontent with the speed and dependability of the government; race consciousness and solidarity, along with a qualified acceptance of white goodwill; and a rejection of illegal methods or extreme solutions in dealing with the race problem. These are not revolutionary youth nor are they merely an apathetic silent majority, for in our interviews many of them expressed deep concern about racial problems. It would appear that they are not creators of crises; but if a racial battle should start they would have a certain potential for participation. Significantly, our respondents agreed most emphatically that "the government is too slow in pushing equal rights for Negroes," (number 5) and that they do not wish to leave racial problems to the courts and Congress (number 9). "Some whites," they feel strongly, "are willing

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[2]Milton Gordon, Assimilation in American Life (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 29.

TABLE 18

AGREEMENT AND DISAGREEMENT WITH SPECIFIC RACIAL ISSUES FOR TOTAL POPULATION IN MEAN SCORES AND BY PER CENT*

RACIAL ISSUES	Mean Score	Per Cent Agree	Per Cent Disagree
1.Some whites are sincerely willing to accept Negroes as equals.	3.17	79	10
2.Voting is an important way to get equal rights.	2.91	68	18
3.Looting is just getting even with Whitey who has cheated Negroes.	1.86	39	45
4.Regardless how much money or education a Negro gets,he is not accepted the same as whites.	2.96	72	18
5.The government is too slow in pushing equal rights for Negroes.	3.42	83	6
6.Non-violent demonstrations are important ways of getting equal rights.	2.80	66	17
7.In Negro communities,Negroes should own and operate their own businesses,banks, schools,etc.	2.37	52	28
8.Anyone who is willing to work hard can get ahead in the U.S.	2.66	64	26
9.Racial problems should be left to the courts and Congress.	1.42	24	54
10.White persons can't really understand what it is like to be a Negro.	3.12	75	14
11.Negroes cannot be equal until there is complete mixing of the races through intermarriage.	1.40	21	54
12.Most whites want to keep the Negro down.	2.61	58	22
13.Private property owners should have the right to refuse to sell to Negroes if they want to do so.	1.35	27	58
14.Riots and violence are necessary for Negro progress.	1.20	20	61
15.Low class Negroes have nothing to offer society.	.94	12	70
16.Looting is bad even when everyone is doing it.	3.00	73	15
17.Negroes cannot be free until they have a country of their own.	1.00	16	67
18.Middle-class Negroes are not doing their part to help poor Negroes	2.33	51	27
19.Negro soldiers in Vietnam have as much to gain or lose as white soldiers there.	1.91	37	44
20.Mostly, things are getting better for Negroes in this country.	2.55	60	19

* Agreement includes strongly agree and somewhat agree; and disagreement includes somewhat disagree and strongly disagree. (N=638)

T A B L E 19

ISSUES HIGHLY ENDORSED OR REJECTED
BY TOTAL POPULATION BY AVERAGE SCORES
AND BY PER CENT OF AGREEMENT AND DISAGREEMENT*

RACIAL ISSUES	Mean Score	Per Cent Agree	Per Cent Disagree
5. The government is too slow in pushing equal rights for Negroes.	3.42	83	6
1. Some whites are sincerely willing to accept Negroes as equals.	3.17	79	10
10. White persons can't really understand what it is like to be a Negro.	3.12	75	14
16. Looting is bad even when everyone is doing it.	3.00	73	15
15. Low class Negroes have nothing to offer society.	.94	12	70
17. Negroes cannot be free until they have a country of their own.	1.00	16	67
14. Riots and violence are necessary for Negro progress.	1.20	20	61
11. Negroes cannot be equal until there is complete mixing of the races through intermarriage.	1.40	21	54
9. Racial problems should be left to the courts and Congress.	1.42	24	54

* Agreement includes strongly agree and somewhat agree; disagreement includes somewhat disagree and strongly disagree. (N=638)

to accept Negroes as equals" (number 1) but "white persons can't really understand wht it is like to be a Negro" (number 10). A feeling of racial solidarity is indicated by the rejection of the statement, "Low class Negroes have nothing to offer society" (number 15). Nevertheless, Negro progress does not require riots and violence (number 14); looting does not become right "when everyone is doing it" (number 16), nor do ultimate solutions depend on a separate country (number 17) or intermarriage (number 11).

In follow-up interviews, some respondents developed in greater depth their viewpoints on government, white people, and violence: the government could not be counted on at all, except for minimal gestures to curb disorder or in response to strong Black Power demands; the government merely "used" elected Black officials as intermediaries to "help control Blacks."

On personal issues, interviewees were particularly articulate. While agreeing that "some whites are sincerely willing to accept Negroes as equals" they accentuated the "some" and were cynical about white motivation. "These days it is more important for them to associate with me than it is for me to associate with them," is how one college student assessed the situation. Wary of false over-friendliness, one young woman said,

> Whites have a tendency to make you look bigger than you are. They say, "we like you... We don't want to hurt nobody... That's a pretty dress you've got on" (even if its ugly); "you look nice. My, you're cute." But they probably don't mean it; they may be afraid we want to strike out...

Violence and riots were condoned by a few as a last resort. "Sometimes the only way to deal with a problem is to be violent," said one young lady who did not completely approve of the Black Panthers or of SNCC, but felt they were "helpful." The D. C. riots did not do any good; they destroyed Black businesses. Another interviewee echoed the same sentiment: "They didn't go up to Wisconsin Avenue. They just made it harder on us. They should have hit the rich sections not the poor sections."

One thoughtful young man differentiated on a moral basis between riots and looting: "Riots are O.K. if the cause is just while looting is just a chance to get something you've wanted." A Black activist stated a contrary view in ideological terms:

> Looting is O.K. only if it is directed against a system , not against an individual; a Black owner who is part of that system is as bad as a honky.

Different people often gave the same answers for different reasons. The majority, however repudiated illegality and violence.

While intermarriage was not accepted as a solution to racial problems, more people felt unsure about this than any other issue. Indeed, in view of the considerable proportion of "not sure" responses and comments of interviewees, we conclude that the opinions of these young people were neither clear nor monolithic regarding long-run solutions. They did not seem politically oriented or very fully informed. For example, one young man who explained that "races can't segregate: they are dependent on each other whether they realize it or not," also claimed to agree with Karenga, Leroi Jones and Stokely Carmichael.

As to more immediate reform proposals, there was a considerable range of viewpoints apparent on questionnaires and fuzziness of opinion in interviews.

When it came to certain more general issues, such as "regardless how much money or education a Negro gets, he is not accepted the same as whites," there was greater concensus and clarity of expression.

Frequently, this young, relatively well educated 1968 population in Washington, D. C. appears more favorably oriented to the white community than do other research populations with which it is possible to make comparisons on the basis of parallel questions, despite the fact that younger age groups are usually found to be more radical than older groups. Fourteen surveys, done between 1967 and 1969, were reviewed in the excellent postscript to Gary T. Marx's study of "Belief in the Black Community," entitled Protest and Prejudice.[3] These surveys, as well as additional ongoing researches, generally concur in our own findings that the Negro population as a whole is more pro-Black than it is anti-white.

Self-respect has grown and resentments toward whites are articulated more boldly than before: toward white "superiority," white insincerity, white slowness to deal with Black issues, white know-it-all and pretensions of understanding the Negro. For most of the young population, these sentiments have not developed into a consistent political program, but in times of crisis they are articulated in anger and militancy. Said one Black girl after a recent urban riot in Asbury Park, New Jersey :

> We told them (officials) last year that if they didn't do something about housing and other improvements, there would be a riot. They didn't - we did...

Her explanation of the cause of the riot was confirmed by the Black police chief. Another young lady on the same newscast complained:

> The president sends money to Vietnam, Biafra, Germany, Africa and everywhere else but doesn't take care of his own at home

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[3]Marx, op. cit.

> and you know that you are supposed to take care of home first, and then others after.[4]

Black spokesmen no longer move towards goals of integration. Stokely Carmichael originally expressed disenchantment with integration in the mid-1960s,

> Integration speaks not at all to the problem of poverty, only to the problem of Blackness. Integration today means the man who 'makes it' leaving his Black brothers behind in the ghetto as fast as his new sports car will take him.

Moreover, continued Carmichael, integration speaks to the problem of Blackness in a 'despicable way,' since the goal for all the integrationists is to 'get white.'[5] But what was Black radicalism yesterday is mere Black awareness today. Even leaders of the 'militant middle,' such as urban planners and college presidents, are wary of that form of white dominance - economic, political and psychological - which passes for integration. Stressing that racial separation is already an accomplished fact, ecologically and institutionally, they espouse neither integration nor separatism but community action and self-determination.

Nor do they advocate violent ways of achieving these goals. Toward the end of The Rev. Martin Luther King's career, he wrote a volume explaining Why We Can't Wait.[6] But as he continued to counsel non-violence, his voice was often drowned out by young Black warriors who shouted 'Freedom Now' and used any means that seemed effective. They were not inhibited by scruples of non-violence and it was their words and deeds that rang out the loudest in the ears of America. Thus it was plausible to believe that the non-violent philosophy had perished with its leading exponent; hence it came as a surprise when our own research, as well as studies sharply focused on the pre-assassination and post assassination responses of other Black populations recently surveyed show that this is not the case. Although the champions of non-violence no longer make headlines their point of view survives and even predominates among American Blacks. One study, which compared the views of a carefully randomized sample of Negroes in Miami, Florida a few weeks after King's assassination with the views of these same people immediately before the assassination, concluded that 'the militant middle may be stronger than ever' and that the 'proportion of Negroes who said they were ready to take their anger to the streets did not increase.' The 'militant middle' in this context

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[4]Channel 4 Television, 6 P.M. News Report on Asbury Park, New Jersey incident. July 8, 1970.

[5]Stokely Carmichael, 'What we Want' quoted in Civil Rights and the American Negro, ed. by Albert P. Blaustein and Robert L. Zangrando (New York: Trident Press, 1968), p. 602.

[6] M. L. King, Why We Can't Wait. (New York: Harper & Row, 1964).

were persons who scored high on an eight-item scale covering the traditional goals of the civil rights movement, including open housing, ending discrimination in public accommodations, attitudes toward peaceful demonstrations and the pace of integration. Moreover this study concludes, there was no important net shift toward separatism.[7] At the same time a political analysis in Central Ohio of "the effective ties binding Blacks to the political system" compared the responses of a probability panel of Blacks before and directly after the assassination. It showed sizable negative shifts in affect toward police, whites, and certain national politicians. But there were positive alterations for significant Negro reference groups, the NAACP and Negroes as a group, and to a much lesser extent for the Democratic party.[8] These studies, among others, again confirm our impression of the ambivalence and diversity of Black interracial reactions, as well as of moderation in selecting methods of social change. Black awareness and identity can operate in a variety of ways and on a variety of levels.

School Status Differentials

Although the average scores on each of these 20 issues for the different school status subsamples (academic high school seniors, vocational high school seniors and dropouts) are similar to each other, as shown on Table 20, the dropout population usually shows greater endorsement of a race-conscious position than the total population.

Not only was the dropouts' Black orientation most marked as judged by their average scores, but on separate items they typically circled the most extreme position, a 4 rather than a 3, or a 0 rather than a 1. In part this may mean the less educated tend to do less qualifying of their judgments or tend to be less cautious on questionnaires. But it may also mean that they are freer to endorse violent and illegal steps (numbers 3, 14, and 16).

Nevertheless, on several issues, the academics were more critical than even the dropouts of white society's failure to grant Blacks first class status; note for example their average scores on (number 4) equal acceptance for equal qualifications, (number 8) rewards for hard work, and(number 15) defense of low class Negroes, and(number 19)the Black stake in Vietnam. These data challenge the stereotype of Black assertiveness as exclusively a lower class phenomenon. They substantiate

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[7]Philip Meyer, "Aftermath of Martyrdom: Negro Militancy and Martin Luther King," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 33, Summer 1969, pp. 160-173.

[8]C. Richard Hofstetter, "Political Disengagement and the Death of Martin Luther King," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 33, pp. 174-179.

TABLE 20

MEAN SCORES ON RACIAL ISSUES
FOR TOTAL POPULATION AND FOR SCHOOL-STATUS SUBSAMPLES

RACIAL ISSUES	Total N=638	Academic N=268	Vocational N=215	Dropout N=155
** 1.Some whites are sincerely willing to accept Negroes as equals	3.17	3.10	3.25	3.13
2.Voting is an important way to get equal rights.	2.91	2.87	2.95	2.84
* 3.Looting is just "getting even with Whitey" who has cheated Negroes.	1.86	1.81	1.69	2.20
* 4.Regardless how much money or education a Negro gets,he is not accepted the same as whites.	2.96	3.06	2.83	2.97
* 5.The government is too slow in pushing equal rights for Negroes	3.42	3.46	3.31	3.44
6.Non-violent demonstrations are important ways of getting equal rights.	2.80	2.88	2.83	2.53
* 7.In Negro communities,Negroes should own and operate their own businesses,banks,schools,etc.	2.37	2.38	2.09	2.61
** 8.Anyone who is willing to work hard can get ahead in the U.S.	2.66	2.42	2.92	2.64
** 9.Racial problems should be left to the courts and Congress.	1.42	1.09	1.55	1.68
*10.White persons can't really understand what it is like to be a Negro.	3.12	3.08	3.05	3.26
11.Negroes cannot be equal until there is complete mixing of the races through intermarriage.	1.40	1.29	1.34	1.59
*12.Most whites want to keep the Negro down.	2.61	2.51	2.48	2.93
**13.Private property owners should have the right to refuse to sell to Negroes if they want to do so	1.35	1.32	1.15	1.59
*14.Riots and violence are necessary for Negro progress.	1.20	1.22	.90	1.54

A distinctively Black orientation may be indicated by a high score on single-starred items and a low score on double-starred items.

TABLE 20 (CONTINUED)

MEAN SCORES ON RACIAL ISSUES
FOR TOTAL POPULATION AND FOR SCHOOL-STATUS SUBSAMPLES

RACIAL ISSUES	Total N=638	Academic N=268	Vocational N=215	Dropout N=155
**15. Low class Negroes have nothing to offer society.	.94	.87	.88	1.10
**16. Looting is bad even when everyone is doing it.	3.00	3.26	3.27	2.70
*17. Negroes cannot be free until they have a country of their own	1.00	80	.87	1.49
*18. Middle-class Negroes are not doint their part to help poor Negroes.	2.35	2.38	2.03	2.72
**19. Negro soldiers in Vietnam have as much to gain or lose as white soldiers there.	1.91	1.55	1.83	2.63
**20. Mostly, things are getting better for Negroes in this country.	2.55	2.52	2.66	2.40

A distinctively Black orientation may be indicated by a high score on single-starred items and a low score on double-starred items.

Washington newspaper headlines about local schools: "Revolt Climbs the Social Ladder." In reviewing the more recent high school student protest movement, one school board member noted:

> The three schools where there had been the greatest disruption... have the most affluent students in the city, and compared to other schools, relatively few pupils from low income families.[9]

It is the vocational high school students, not the academics, who are generally most conservative and establishment-oriented. In the single-starred items in Table 20 where a high score indicates Black orientation, the vocationals tend to be the lowest of the three subgroups. Note particularly (number 4) Negroes not being accepted as equals, (number 5) the government being too slow, and (number 14) the necessity of riots and violence. In the other items they tend to be the highest: such as, whites being willing to accept Negroes as equals (number 1), hard work as a means of getting ahead (number 8), and things getting better for Negroes in the United States (number 20).

The stance of the vocational school students in our sample is certainly related to the fact that their goals are limited but attainable. A large percentage (close to 100 per cent in some schools) of them have specific jobs lined up before they graduate. In general, there has been an increase of jobs in the middle range in the American economy; particularly is this true with regard to Negro workers.[10] For them the economy, hence "the establishment," appears relatively benign.

The academics are not in this same position. Their aspirations are less modest and less specific. Their horizons are broader. The jobs to which they aspire are less immediately attainable. They are in a position to compare their condition with that of the whites and they find cause for discontent. That the cause is indeed just is evidenced by the fact that at the high school graduation level, as at other educational levels, Negro median income is not equal to but only about three-fourths of that of similarly educated whites.[11]

The frustration of the dropout is still of a different order. He is the most unemployed and underemployed. He cannot make it at all in this white man's world and does not accept most of that world -

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[9] "Revolt Climbs the Social Ladder," The Washington Post, March 8, 1970, p. A1, A8.

[10] The Social and Economic Status of Negroes in the United States, 1969, op. cit., p. 40.

[11] Trends in Social and Economic Conditions in Metropolitan Areas, 1969, op. cit., p. 26.

T A B L E 21

MEAN SCORES ON RACIAL ISSUES
FOR TOTAL POPULATION AND FOR SUBSAMPLES BY SEX

R A C I A L I S S U E S	Total N=638	Male N=273	Female N=343
** 1.Some whites are sincerely willing to accept Negroes as equals.	3.17	3.12	3.20
2.Voting is an important way to get equal rights.	2.91	2.99	2.85
*3.Looting is just "getting even with Whitey" who has cheated Negroes.	1.86	2.09	1.67
* 4.Regardless how much money or education a Negro gets,he is not accepted the same as whites.	2.96	2.86	3.04
* 5.The government is too slow in pushing equal rights for Negroes.	3.42	3.39	3.41
6.Non-violent demonstrations are important ways of getting equal rights.	2.80	2.83	2.76
* 7.In Negro communities, Negroes should own and operate their own businesses,banks, and schools, etc.	2.37	2.52	2.23
** 8.Anyone who is willing to work hard can geget ahead in the U. S.	2.66	2.72	2.60
** 9.Racial problems should be left to the courts and Congress.	1.42	1.51	1.34
*10.White persons can't really understand what it is like to be a Negro.	3.12	3.06	3.16
11.Negroes cannot be equal until there is complete mixing of the races through intermarriage.	1.40	1.64	1.15
*12.Most whites want to keep the Negro down.	2.61	2.63	2.57
**13.Private property owners should have the right to refuse to sell to Negroes if they want to do so.	1.35	1.44	1.25
*14.Riots and violence are necessary for Negro progress.	1.20	1.42	1.01
**15.Low class Negroes have nothing to offer society.	.94	.96	.89
**16.Looting is bad even when everyone is doing it.	3.00	2.97	3.26
*17.Negroes cannot be free until they have a country of their own.	1.00	1.16	.88
*18.Middle-class Negroes are not doing their part to help poor Negroes.	2.35	2.34	2.34
**19.Negro soldiers in Vietnam have as much to gain or lose as white soldiers there.	1.91	2.00	1.83
**20.Mostly,things are getting better for Negroes in this country.	2.55	2.68	2.42

A distinctively Black orientation may be indicated by a high score on single-starred items and a low score on double-starred items.

its members (numbers 10 and 12), its myths (number 20), and its methods (number 12). He condones illegitimate practices toward personal and racial goals (numbers 3 and 16) and espouses exclusively Black solutions of the race problem (numbers 17 and 7).

Thus, with respect to interracial issues, there is not a socio-economic gradation from an academic high, through a vocational intermediate score to a dropout low. As in many personal associations, in 1968 the vocationals were more accepting of whites than the academics and they were less Black-oriented on many interracial issues.

Sex Differentials on Racial Issues

There is very great similarity in the male and female patterns with regard to racial issues. Table 21 repeats the overall picture of moderation in goals and methods while highlighting the phenomenon of Black awareness.

A relatively high score for males on any particular item is usually matched with a high score for females, and likewise with respect to a low score. However, males do appear more racially assertive than females with regard not only to certain economic (number 7), political (number 17) and illegal (numbers 3, 14, and 16) measures, but also to voting (number 2) and non-violent demonstrations (number 6), suggesting a greater degree of political concern on their part. Follow-up interviews, to be reported in the next chapter, reinforce the evidence of the lesser involvement of the females in public issues.

CHAPTER VII

FOUR SHADES OF BLACK

Introduction

Followup interviews in the summer and fall of 1969 of a score and more of our 1968 respondents were undertaken for several purposes: (1) to check on both the meaning and the reliability of the questionnaire responses; (2) to examine how racial attitudes and opinions developed, both before and after the questionnaire; and, last but not least, (3) to reconstitute into real persons the segments of behavior analyzed in our statistics.

For the interview subsample we selected persons on various positions of the willingness-to-associate range who were representative of the six subsamples in our study: academic seniors - male and female; vocational seniors - male and female; dropouts - male and female. There was a lapse of a year and sometimes more between the questionnaire and the interview, since the selection of subjects and development of interview outlines were based on at least preliminary tabulations of the data. This made it difficult to locate respondents. The interview situation was casual, scheduled at the convenience of the respondent, and usually in his own home. A small cassett recorder was used. Our interviewers, who were young and Black, generally felt that rapport was excellent and the results were highly credible; indeed, as we audited the cassettes, this did seem to be the case. Many insights and excerpts from the interviews have already been incorporated in previous chapters. In this chapter, we have selected four interviews for detailed review, with special focus on the varying patterns of evolving Black awareness, identity and orientation.

Peggy Preston - The Girl Who Became "Black"

In spring, 1968 when Peggy Preston a senior in one of the academic high schools, answered our questionnaire, she circled 4 - completely willing - in response to all the fifteen questions concerning personal willingness to associate with whites in different situations. With respect to self-identification, she checked "American," "middle class," and "Negro." Fifteen months later, after an academically successful year at a white, midwest college, she had become emphatically "Black" in thought and feeling.

Her previous experiences with whites had been benign: classmates in a predominantly white elementary school, her father's business associates, her own sister-in-law, about ten per cent of the student body of her predominantly Black high school and one of her favorite teachers. But most of all there was her good friend who lived down the street, and with whom she grew up. Maybe, Peg mused, Margarite's being a Quaker contributed to the unquestioned mutual acceptance. At least, it seemed unquestioned until our interviewer probed into Peg's assertion that "all whites feel superior." And Peg replied

> Deep down they all have this feeling. Maybe about one out of a million doesn't. Even Margarite probably had that superior attitude, but she hides it well; and being brought up the way she has been, she probably was not aware of it.

The year at Midwest was an eventful one. Peggy had chosen this white school because if she went to a Black college she would be dancing, partying, talking all the time, just like in high school; besides she knew of its tough curriculum and good reputation, and, "because to compete in a white world it would mean a lot to have a degree from Midwest." Her major will be political science or Russian.

While in high school the ten per cent white minority had had to fit into the Black social groove, and a good many of them did, in college it was a different story. Some of the whites had never been exposed to Blacks before; there were no other Blacks in her co-ed dormitory and, "you could go for days on campus without ever seeing one" since there were only 25 Blacks out of a school population of 2600. At first Peg seemed to be making a good social adjustment with lots of week-end socializing. But in retrospect, she recognizes she

> just didn't fit. They knew it, but they didn't want to admit it... In our campus everyone wants to be liberal... so everyone is running around slapping every Black student on the back. "Hey you're our buddy."

Teachers as well as students made a big thing of that, so Peggy pledged a sorority, sat up in the front of all the pictures. After three weeks, she depledged, realizing that she was "in for tokenism":

> We weren't interested in the same type of things; we didn't listen to the same music, didn't dance the same dances. I got tired of being looked at like I was a freak. The fraternity boys, I couldn't stand, they were hideous. Besides I was going steady at the time with the head of the Black Student Union, that caused a little bit of conflict- you know, him and sorority girls. So I depledged. Haven't regretted it either.

Subsequently, Peggy's loyalty had been exclusively with Blacks. Not that she lacks amicable white contacts on campus; contact with whites in unavoidable. But she designates these whites mere "acquaintances, not friends." Her feelings are invested not in them but in her

Black "brothers," her Black boyfriend ("Everybody on campus was afraid of him") and in the anticipated recruitment at Midwest of 40 Black students next year. In past years at Midwest, Peggy explained, 13 Blacks had been admitted each year. "It was supposed to be a coincidence, but you know when you keep on having 13 every year for 20 years, it's not such a coincidence." Then this last year nine had flunked out by the spring quarter. But next year will be different. "Due to racial tension all over the country, and the government put pressure on them too, they are willing to grant us what we wanted." So there will be more Black students than the traditional thirteen, and a Black meeting house from which whites are to be excluded. She looks forward to changes the school must make in response to Black Student Union demands which are "necessary to our survival and the school's. Midwest is behind the times - only 20 miles away from a large city's ghettoes of which it is not even aware." She is so weary of the forced contacts with whites. It got on her nerves to "go over and over again those same stupid obvious things. For months, all we talked about was race, race, race, race." She is disgusted with their middle class suburban looks - the long blond hair, the Ladybug dresses...

> Sure, some of them are sincere, about helping Blacks, or think they are. Just like I could be sincere about helping a dog. I have sympathy for that dog besides the fact that it inflates my ego to think I could help that poor little dog. They don't understand this; they didn't understand their own feelings, much less mine.

Peg's new Black identification is related to her repudiation of "middle-class values." She came from a background which was middle-class both in terms of the Black community and the total society. Her father had completed high school; her mother had graduate training, and both were in white-collar occupations. She lived in a community which was making a very deliberate effort to remain integrated; she attended a church with a white minister, although the congregation was mainly Black.

But now she is critical of the Negro middle-class, its weaknesses, its irrelevance to the masses. The NAACP, she says, is geared to fight for "rights" that have no meaning to the Black masses. For example,

> if my parents fought for the right to live in the suburbs, it would be possible for them to move out into the suburbs. But that "right" does not mean anything to the people on 14th and U Streets.

It would be more constructive if the Black middle-class "used their money and their education to become go-betweens with the white world... because we can't cut ourselves off from the white world."

Peg has come to have little confidence in voting as an important way to get equal rights, since "whites let in only those whom they want in the government." She admires some Black political leaders like Shirley Chisolm and Adam Clayton Powell - "not that they'll change

the government, but it's good for the pride of the community to have them there." She depricates other Black political leaders like Senator Brooks, and Mayors Washington and Stokes as "basically white in their ideas... they just happen to be born with dark brown skins." She applauds the Panthers for "only defending what's theirs and what should be theirs and isn't," and deplores the fact that the Panthers have been given a bad name by people who claimed to be Panthers but were only irresponsibly violent.

> I don't like violence of any kind... If there were such a thing as a controlled riot... There should be some kind of plan about what to do when the riot is over.

Still, violence is necessary for there comes a time when talk no longer accomplishes anything.

From 1968 to 1969, Peggy's personal dispositions and political positions have been quite thoroughly "Black-washed." Perhaps more than she herself recognizes, despite her enthusiasm for the Black Student Union and her disdain for white associates, she assumes the practical necessity of interracial alliances. "We cannot cut ourselves off from the white world," she commented in outlining her conception of the buffer role of the Black middle class.

We cannot tell what parts of her Black awareness process were due (1) to the changing interracial climate of the nation, (2) to her experiences as a one per cent minority in an isolated midwest college, (3) to her background experiences, her personality and her maturing, and (4) to her Black militant boyfriend. If we had a formula for the interaction of all these factors, then we might hazard a guess about her future stance. Peggy Preston herself summed up the uncertainty,

> I can't say what I'll do ten years from now. My attitudes may change or else my mother is wasting her money sending me to college. I hope attitudes do change some. I will grow.

Leonard York - Ballots Not Bullets

Leonard York was also a senior in an academic high school in Washington, D. C. in 1968. He went to a different school from Peggy's, in a less affluent neighborhood. His family was not so well off, and his childhood experiences with whites were not always benign. Originally his questionnaire responses indicated less complete willingness to associate with whites than Peggy's. Such relative unwillingness may stem from a personal hesitancy abetted by the insecurities of lower socioeconomic status. He called himself "Black" and "Black American." In the year from 1968 to 1969, although there were negative experiences with whites both on the job and in military service, he seems to have mellowed in his interracial attitudes. He has not abandoned his Black identity but he does not aggressively assert it unless personally threatened. Of course it is hard to be militant in the military; so

Leonard must wait until after his two years' service before he can work toward his goal of "going into politics to bring my people out of poverty" and "helping my people get their rights."

Leonard is a mild-mannered young man. In his 1969 recital of his experiences with whites, one hears a contrapuntal pattern of negative first impressions, neutralized by an attempt to visualize how the situation appears from "the other side." He is conscientious and painstaking in his thinking. Initial considerations get modified by reconsiderations; immediate angers get mollified by broader perspectives.

For example, as a youngster, he played with white children in the neighborhood and got along pretty well. However, there was one white woman who wanted Black children to keep their distance. "She threw water on the kids who got too close to her fence, or raised her umbrella if they walked too close to her on the street." She called the police on slight provocation. But no, that did not affect his attitude toward white people, Leonard tells the interviewer because there were "Black people who treated us kids like that too." In fact, he "felt sorry for her in a way, because she was older."

Then he worked for Jews, and "a lot of them try to down our race." Nevertheless, he admires how Jews band together in a community to help each other, while Blacks fight each other. Besides, Jews are not the only merchants who try to exploit Blacks. Black merchants often try to sell to their own people for a high profit like the Black butcher Leonard knew as a child, whose meat was not good and full of flies, who always drank and did not care about his customers, but tried to get rich quick at their expense. There are other Blacks whom Leonard criticizes - drunks, lazy ones on welfare.

On the other hand, he is resentful of the slights whites automatically impose on Blacks: In the army, when there was a dirty detail,

> first thing would pop up was a Black man. But when we stood up for our rights, they let us alone. Whites were five to one, so Blacks had it pretty hard. We got along good with some whites because they came from neighborhoods and cities where Blacks were essential to them. But ones from Mississippi and Alabama, ones who mostly had Black servants, I guess they felt that's where you belonged. So I stayed away as long as they didn't mess with me.

Most times Leonard avoids contact when he gets angry with whites. But sometimes, when his patience reaches its limits, he lashes out. He was almost locked up twice for fighting.

> One white guy walked up to me and said,'I don't like Black niggers." I said, you call me Black, but you don't call me nigger," and I hit him...He made me feel real bad... But this cat, a white sergeant from the North wasn't prejudiced, so he didn't lock me up.

Later in Alabama,

> there was this one white fellow said I was the best Black he ever trained with; but wouldn't give me a ride in his own county because his friends would give him a hard time. I couldn't dig this either. He made me feel real low. I didn't want to be bothered with him.

Somehow he didn't come to hate or even avoid all white men as a result of these experiences. But the experiences may have intensified his concern for his Black brothers: He tells how one day an army bus in Alabama passed a beautiful white house, and everyone admired it. Then the soldiers saw an ugly, broken-down shack behind it and somebody asked "what's that for." Someone else answered "Blacks live there." "Ya kidding, there's nobody living there." Leonard sees some Blacks standing at the door and "it brings water to your eyes for your people to be living so low in a country that's supposed to be the best."

> Later, when Leonard goes into politics, he will help these people. Most Blacks, when they get up, they forget their own people; they start looking out just for themselves. When I get in, I'm going to fight for the Black people who voted to get me in in the first place.

Black politicians serve the establishment, he knows.

> White politicians only have the Black politician to keep Black people down, to keep them quiet. If the Black politician wasn't there, then the Black people would start something... But the Black politician can go only so far as white politicians will let him.

However, there are some good and some not so good Black politicians,e.g., Shirley Chisholm. "By the way she talks, I think she's an OK up-tight woman. I heard Mayor Washington and he reminds me too much of a white man." When Leonard gets in office, he'll make an all-out effort to get whites to look at all sides, all views. "We've got to get to the people who have control of the money and the say-so; until we do that there's no hope for us."

Leonard does not repudiate the U. S. Government in time of war. Asked about the Black man's stake in Vietnam, he thinks carefully, and answers slowly, rhythmically:

> I'll say it this way: The Black man, in the sense that he lives in this country, and has relatives, loved ones in this country, in that sense he has everything to fight for: but as far as coming back here, doing what he wants to do, going where he wants to ge, when he wants to do it, how he pleases himself to do it - he has <u>nothing</u> to fight for.

Since 1968, Leonard has gone through several changes:

> At first, at Ft. Bragg and then Alabama, my thoughts were to fight the white man. Later I figured out it was wrong.

> This I thought out by myself, not because of some white friends I had, but because of myself sitting up nights thinking: we are all trainees; there are no favorites; some whites are trying to help, not hurt. Well, I said, we have rotten apples here, that are white. I guess it would be the same if we had an all-Black company. My first change was due to the way I was treated. I felt against the white man. If I looked at one, I would walk away with hatred in my heart. Then you find he's trying to help you, not hurt you - treating you like he's treating everyone else...

So although it is a mixed bag for Leonard York, he wants to come back and work within the system, not with riots and looting, but with education, with jobs, and with political participation.

Janet Bancroft - No One Leader Speaks For Me

Ordinarily, says Janet Bancroft, she does not "talk color." It was only by probing that our interviewer elicited mild criticisms of whites, and even these were mitigated by reference to color discrimination among Negroes themselves, and sex discrimination in employment against women workers.

Her original questionnaire, typical of our female vocational high school respondents, indicated almost complete willingness to associate with whites in all activities, self-identification as "American," "middle-class," and "Negro," and a view of social issues in accord with the white-dominated society. Janet was opposed to violence, riots, and looting. Rejecting militantly pro-Negro solutions to racial problems, she was relatively appreciative of whites and uncritical of middle-class Negroes.

Although Janet's views were moderate, she went farther than most in volunteering written explanations in the narrow spaces between questionnaire statements. For instance, not only did she strongly disagree with the statement that "looting is just 'getting even with Whitey' who has cheated Negroes;" she added that it was "just a way of getting something for nothing." And then "stealing is wrong even if the world is doing it."

By 1969, her personal attitude and public positions have shifted. Although not rejecting personal interracial contacts outright, she has become less amenable than before, and under certain circumstances, more uncertain of her feelings. With regard to racial issues, she also moved toward greater Black orientation, censuring more the middle class Negro as well as the whites, condoning more the riots and violence. "I'm sorta divided about riots," she says, "They destroyed... but, I'm not sure... I like to think violence isn't necessary..."

She does not report traumatic personal incidents nor serious cogitation underlying these "blackward" shifts, but indicates that they were largely due to changes in the racial climate. As she explains in the case of her current self-identification as "Black American" instead of "Negro," "I've heard Black so much I feel relaxed with it. If you say Negro now, people look at you kind of funny."

Janet is not a girl people would be likely to look at "kind of funny." She is neat, well groomed, and well spoken. For the past year she has been doing secretarial work in a government office and is planning for college in 1970.

In general, her attitudes toward whites remain positive. She lives in a racially mixed neighborhood which was mostly white when she moved in. Since then there has been a general exodus of the original residents. She had some friends among the "handful of whites" in her vocational high school. On her questionnaire, she checked that a half-and-half racial composition in high school was acceptable to her but she had some doubts about a predominantly white one, and indicated in writing that she feared she might not measure up academically. In 1969, her comment was that she might not feel comfortable in this predominantly white situation. She has dated white boys and they were very nice, but she recognizes social risks in interracial dating and marriage. Janet might be called "well-adjusted" for conformity comes easy to her and she seems content with the status quo, although not unaware of racial discrimination. In government offices she sees whites getting promoted to GS-4 or 6 while similarly qualified Blacks remain GS-2 or 3. And there are some white work associates who "grin in your face and act like they are all for you. But they aren't. They're sure you're lowest on the totem pole." But her awareness is not very active and her responses are low-key.

Yes, she tells our interviewer, she feels more accepting of whites than do other Negroes, who have had fewer contacts and have not had whites in their family for generations so they can't even remember when... "I'm lucky that way. My grandfather was white." The way she was raised, she took color differences for granted. "I didn't say Grandma is Negro; grandpa is white, I just accepted a person for what he is." And when she has her own children, she will tell them to do the same..." And not to be sly." For even some Blacks <u>are</u> sly, with their own people too. All this Janet says in a manner both calm and sweet. There is no aggressiveness in her increased Black identity or her language. Indeed the only time she raises her voice in anger, just slightly, is when she talks about militants, like Stokely Carmichael or Rap Brown.

> Sometimes the things one of them says would represent just him and one or two of his friends, but they pretend to speak for the whole race... No one leader speaks for me.

Joseph Parker -- Angry Panther

"I'm a pseudo-revolutionary," says Joseph Parker in response to a query regarding self-identification. "'Pseudo' because my mind is along those lines, but I haven't given up my studies to be a 24-hour revolutionary." He is part of the Black Panther movement; his language is a mixture of political and vernacular; his ideas are a mixture of Karl Marx and ghetto.

When Joseph first filled out our questionnaire, it was as a high school dropout. He told us he had completed one year of high school, that he was 19 years old and married. In the space asking what occupation he would choose if he were able to go into any kind of life work he wanted to, he replied, "I would like to be a fireman." For the next year, though, he would most like to get a job as a carpenter and/or, as he wrote in, "stand on the corner." Actually, he did not expect to get the job he wanted, since he lacked education and money.

In his questionnaire responses, Joseph appeared alienated from whites and from the "establishment." He was unwilling to participate personally in most interracial situations; the only whites he accepted were "the kind that like to associate with ghetto Negroes," specifically rejecting "the ones that live in an all white neighborhood and ones from the south." Among Negroes, he rejected "the 'uncle Tom' no good Black, and the one that the white man tells to do everything." In self-identification, he circled "lower class," "middle class," and "Black American." With regard to racial issues, he was wholly Black-oriented and opposed to the general predominantly white society.

His point of view had not changed, when our interviewer talked to him one year later, but it was more ideologically molded. For example, "I dig myself the same - Black - but I'd leave out middle class. The morality of looting is not absolute; it relates to its potential revolutionary function." But he does not feel that looting is O.K. "just because everyone is doing it."

> Looting is good when done for a positive purpose bringing attention to some evil. Looting in D. C. wiped out a lot of buildings which didn't need to stand. It knocked off a lot of liquor stores which definetely don't need to be there, I see two or three liquor stores in one block. Looting is directed at a system. The Black owner of business needs to be wiped out just like the honkies, because he's just as bad, lots of times even worse, putting holes in his people just like the honky is.

Nor does he accept the premise on which the questionnaire statement that "the government is too slow in pushing equal rights for Negroes" is based. Rights shouldn't be pushed by the government; they

should be pushed by all men, especially the Black man. Civil rights bills won't accomplish equal rights. Voting won't do it either. "We are in the minority, and besides a lot of Blacks don't vote." Moreover he rejects the assumption that voting can accomplish major social change thru redistribution of wealth. How can you tell someone to vote to give away to someone else something he has gotten for himself?

The courts are no recourse. How can a white liberal judge ever "do the true and just thing to me, He has to see me as a threat, because he was indoctrinated that way."

The Black middle class has been little help. A lot of educated Negroes have the idea "I got mine, now you get yours." But whitey won't accept a Black person merely because he's educated; whitey will only accept those Blacks who make him respect them.

The bankruptcy of conventional solutions to racial problems leads to revolutionary solutions. All his views are politicized, related to an ideology which condemns capitalism, and capitalistic exploitation of the Black and of the poor. Exploitation and whites are so thoroughly equated in Joseph's mind that even in the Panther press he has trouble accepting reports favorable toward white people, such as the Patriot group in Chicago, who also oppose exploitation. White revolutionists seem a contradiction in terms, a little "crazy" to Joseph. Actually, he personally never met any, but ponders, "Maybe they could be used as a diversionary tactic."

Joseph is still a novice in the Panther camp. In response to our interviewer, he said he has been spending his time this last year "working, and doing some studying and reading on my own." What reading? "A red book, recommended in one of the Panther papers...by some Japanese or Chinese." He found it hard going, and didn't get through much of it. But he has been reading books like Ellison's Invisible Man, Malcolm X, Black Bourgeoisie, and the Mau Mau Returnee. He prefers the Black press to the local Washington Post or Star because "it is directed at me, and for my purpose... It's a school of some kind coming out of the paper."

All this study has been on his own, but Joseph would not want to go to a formal school or any school with whites, because he would not be at ease, unless maybe it was away somewhere, at a revolutionary school: under such circumstances it might be all right to have some honkies, the kind who want to overthrow the state. Indeed, it was in a school that a crucial incident in his relation with whites occurred. It was in high school that he was charged with breaking into other peoples' lockers. Joseph doesn't contest the charge, but he does bitterly resent how the vice-principal handled it. When Joseph's father came to school and "dropped a lot of stuff" on this vice-principal, calling him "what he was - a white pig or a prejudiced whitey," the vice-principal did everything he could to get Joseph out of school.

He was always checking up on Joseph, while a white boy who did the same thing was left alone completely. Five or six teachers did nothing in Joseph's behalf; only one instructor helped and she was Black. He ruminates angrily on that incident and the interviewer inquires whether it would have been different if the vice-principal had been Black.

> Yes, it would have been different, even if he had been a Tom, an assimilator trying to fit into the system. Because if he had been Black, it probably would have been a whole lot easier for my father to communicate with him.

Joseph insists there was no reason for him to be put out of school: "I wasn't jiving with my books, but doing quite well academically."

There have been no favorable experiences with whites to counteract these bad experiences. When he has to work with whites on the job, he keeps to himself. He perceives the whites with whom he works as he perceived his vice-principal - as racists.

Joseph has no property, no personal ties, no sentiment to inhibit his hate of the system which has deprived him of everything he wants. He is a Panther, aspiring to the status of 24-hour-a-day revolutionary.

Interpretations

Talking with twenty-two Black youths reveals vividly the versatility of their personal adjustment to the social fact of race, and the different ways they respond to recent developments in Black awareness. None was totally unaffected by minority status; although some young people declared they didn't mind too much; others couldn't stand it. None was unaffected by current trends toward Black awareness. For some this amounted to little more than a superficial change in language or appearance; for others there were basic changes in attitudes, personality, and way-of-life. Each case, despite statistical norms, was unique, and too multidimensional to fit on a single continuum. To cite a few examples:

One young lady, when first encountered as an academic high school senior, had checked "completely willing" to associate with whites in all the situations presented in our questionnaire. She had identified herself only as "American" (eschewing terms of race and class), and had circled "unsure" about many of the crucial racial issues listed on the schedule. The next year, she reiterated the same personal and political views in the course of the interview: "I don't have anything against whites at all." She was "sick of Black Power" and of being called someone's "Black sister." "I'm not black, I'm brown," she asserted. Moreover she had no faith in political panaceas. The problem is "just people." Then, decrying, as many others had done, the hardships of working under Negro supervisors who were most disrespectful of Negro subordinates, she asserted:

> When somebody has a little more than somebody else, they're going to think they're better. This is the way it's been ever since time began... No matter how much praying and preaching, no matter how much shooting and killing."

A second young lady, although similar to the one just described in her non-political stance, her self-identification exclusively as an "American," and her denial of Black awareness, nevertheless presented a quite different willingness-to-associate profile. She discriminated sharply between different interracial activities on her questionnaire, being completely willing on less than half of them, and in her interview expressed marked resentments against whites. We found no particular experiences to account for her negative disposition in contrast to the positive interracial approach of the first.

While the 1969 interviews generally showed greater Black awareness than the 1968 questionnaires, this increase may serve different purposes for different individuals. For some, intensified Black identity fulfills a deep and pressing psychological need; for others it serves alternatively or additionally as a means for achieving power; for many, perhaps most, of the young people whom we interviewed, it represents a kind of in-group conformity.

Switching identity from "Negro" to "Black," switching norms of dress and manner may be either a fad or a deep commitment. The change may be as passive as standing on an up-escalator or as active as turning the tides of history. So varied an array of possible meanings prevents easy generalization concerning the meaning of Black awareness to the youths in our study.

Sociologists look to socioeconomic correlates generally for the primary source of any attitude, including Black awareness. But there is a growing realization in both theory and empirical design of the importance of the combining and the <u>interacting</u> of factors - individual and contextual.[1]

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[1]This point of view has been well stated recently with regard to white anti-Negro hostility by John M. Orbell, with Kenneth S. Sherrill, in "Racial Attitudes and the Metropolitan Context: A Structural Analysis," <u>Public Opinion Quarterly</u>, XXXIII, Spring 1969, pp. 46-54. They find that it is not merely the detection and addition of personal and community variables, but their precise configurations which must be taken into account in understanding interracial attitudes.

The recognition that the combining of both these sets of variables is required in attitudinal analysis is part of the conceptual framework of the almost-classic, <u>Dynamics of Prejudice</u> by Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz, which is concerned with how white veterans feel about Jewish and Negro minorities, and of the more recent Robin Williams' <u>Strangers Next Door</u>, as well as the current <u>Protest and Prejudice</u> by Gary T. Marx.

Our own case histories provide ample evidence that socioeconomic attributes alone do not account for personal attitudes. The two interviewees who sound most Black-oriented, Peggy Preston and Joseph Parker, were totally dissimilar in the socioeconomic characteristics of community, parental occupation, income and education. Parker came from a background of ghetto frustration and antagonistic associations with whites, and he eschewed further interracial association. Peggy who had been "completely willing" for all interracial associations listed in the questionnaire, reported no personal deprivations or rejections in the course of the interview, but owed her Black awareness largely to the mood of the times, to her personal inclinations to feel strongly on political issues, and probably to the influence of a militant Black boyfriend.

The Peggy Preston - Joseph Parker political similarity is consonant with the statistical picture of academic and dropout resemblance. However, there are other academics and dropouts who contradict this statistical picture. For instance, another academic female who on paper paralleled Peggy's willingness score and her self-identification and who also went to a small, white, midwestern college, came out of this experience in a personal and political frame very different from Peggy's. She became neither activist nor Black-oriented; it was only in keeping with common usage that she switched her term of self-identification from "Negro" to "Black."

These various developments in interracial attitudes can be looked at in the same broad model that Kluckhohn and Murray used in their conception of personality development as a product of four classes of determinants and their interactions: constitutional, group membership, role and situational.[2] For some persons, constitutional traits (the conditions of the organism, innate and evolved) are crucial. For example, with Leonard York, one gets the feeling that there is a temperamental base for his low-keyed solutions to problems, personal or racial. In other cases, the factors of role and group-membership become prepotent. Socially defined identities as Black or student or female operate to mold the interracial situation and to give it a particular meaning. In Peggy's case, we see a bright, assertive girl realigning herself to accord with the general mood of the times and the dynamic college situation in which she finds herself. One cannot say how much of her incentive to be "Black" comes from her investment in her romantic alliance with the leader of the Black Student Union. Janet, the ex-vocational school student, appears to function well in a clerical civil service position. Her stable job situation and her preoccupation with her role as an attractive young lady, permits her to

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[2]Clyde Kluckhohn and Henry A.Murray, Personality in Nature, Society and Culture, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), p. 56.

make her way daintly through the debris of political struggles. A male academic who selected a primarily non-white teacher's college, psychologically grooms himself for a role where he will have to "get along," hopefully without discriminations, with students of different kinds.

These four factors interact, of course, in historical and economic contexts which further complicate any effort to derive a formula for predicting attitude development. Not only are the factors multiple, and their proportions variable from case to case, but their interactions are intricate and idiosyncratic.

In our interviews, as in our racial self-identification data, political radicalization and personal dissociation from whites appear to be related to each other. Although this contradicts findings of some earlier researches by other investigators which were reported in the previous chapter, it is probably explained by the different emphases of the Black struggle in the current and previous periods. Formerly, people in the civil rights movement were united by their goals, regardless of color. In the current era, with the immediate goal having changed from integration to self-determination, the emphasis has shifted from denying the relevance of race to magnifying its importance. Therefore, it is not surprising that among the people we interviewed, the highly politicized individuals find association with whites less congenial. There has been some modification of the defensiveness and dependency characteristic of Negro interracial attitudes in 1966, which was then described in terms of "contingency factor." It is becoming less characteristic for the Black man to wait for the white cue in private dealings and even in collective dealings.

Our interviews suggest other propositions that may be useful in examining attitude changes. No one causative agent or specific trait is decisive, no one formula applies to all. Some persons have readiness to change and others are resistant. One person can be deeply influenced by something as impersonal as a book, while another is responsive only to direct personal experiences. There are many types in between. Moreover a particular experience or situation such as an interracial school, may "turn off" one Black student while it "turns on" another, and leaves a third largely unaffected. Further, in a single situation, countervailing forces may interact unpredictably upon a single individual; the turbulence of the general racial climate may evoke hostility; but benign private experiences may counteract the hostility and an ambivalent amity may result.

Sometimes the consciously positive approach is undermined by the subconscious negative. This is part of the theme of Sex and Racism in the United States,[3] which contains many illustrations of how interracial couples, ostensibly harmonious, subconsciously retain ingrained racial prejudices.

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[3]Calvin C. Hernton, (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1965.)

Sociological methods, of course, do not afford ready access to the unconscious, where hostilities often hide. But it is fascinating to speculate whether, in these times when Black expression of negative interracial feelings is explicitly encouraged by in-group pressures, it may be the positive feelings which are driven underground. Thus, Peggy Preston who can adduce no critical evidence against her close white friend, nevertheless - attempting to avoid cognitive dissonance - argues that Margarite "must" feel superior to Blacks.

Again, we witness the multiplicity of inclinations, some mutually contradictory in each person. Hereby precedent and rationale are provided for almost any individual or collective interracial response. In view of this multivariate quality of the individual experience, we are not yet ready to predict attitude development on interracial matters.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS

An overall interpretation of this study is hard to write. Not merely have the findings become dated, but the context in which they must be considered - the drive and drift of Black people - has altered in the past several years.

The 1966 study was designed in an era when integration was the key interracial issue. At that time it was unusual to research Black attitudes toward personal association with whites; the scholarly question, like the political one, was generally, 'How do whites feel about personal association with Negroes?"

By the time of the 1968 replication, the momentum toward integration had slowed down, the non-violence movement was being superceded and race struggles took other forms. Priorities shifted from considerations of entry into the white world to concentration on Black identity, Black status, Black pride, Black power.

The Negro youth in our 1968 study takes pride in Black identity as never before, although he is not politicized. Formerly he was aware of promises of the American creed, but perceived, as though through a glass dimly, that they were not for him. Now he recognized that the promises are overdue. He is more expressive, sometimes agressive in his expectations and reactions, both at the individual level and in many collective situations. But he is not sophisticated ideologically; neither in goal nor method, revolutionary; nor, even on immediate programs, united. "Militant moderate" describes the tone of our 1968 population.

The 1966 report had concluded "Young Negroes want to belong. When they riot it is not because they want 'out' from the white world, but because they want 'in.'" Therefore, in 1968 the underlying question was "Is the young Black seeking exclusive aims apart from the total dominant predominantly white society or is he seeking to become part of that society?" This question is answered in 1968 not by "either-or," rather by "yes-but." The "but" has become the vital matter. The young Negro in our population wants "in" but not on the basis of second-class citizenship. He feels a sort of dual membership in the Black in-group as well as in the total American society. He distributes his loyalties, assesses his status, and develops his life-styles on this dual basis.

This chapter interprets the findings of the 1968 study and makes comparison with those of 1966 in the light of the dual concerns of young Blacks, and in terms of their implication for school and society.

Specific findings have already been briefed in the summary which constitutes Chapter I of this report. A short overview is useful here as a take-off base for the interpretation.

While willingness to associate with whites fell slightly but consistently from 1966 to 1968 in most activities, the non-separatist disposition of our 1968 population is indicated by the fact that they continued to be "somewhat willing" to associate with whites.

The relative stability of the interracial pattern is demonstrated by the fact that the rank order of activities on the fifteen-item list remained similar for the two years, the lowest scores were usually found for those situations in which Blacks were a numerical minority or where the particular contact was an intimate one. The avoidance factors involved appear to be the requirement of "Anglo-conformity," the risk of non-acceptance for the Black, and the traditional sex taboo, as detailed in Chapter III.

While there was considerable variance around the mean for each activity, the norms of the separate subsamples were more similar to each other in 1968 than formerly. The fact that the school-status index differential is less in 1968 than earlier may evidence a unifying sense of Black awareness, a feeling that "we are all in it together." The persistence of some differential, the fact that drop-outs continued to be less accepting than in-school youth, suggests the conversion of socioeconomic factors into psychological ones; the more economically deprived are likely to be both physically and socially isolated from whites, other than those whites who use their labor or their money. It is to them that St. Clair Drake's term "victimization" most applies, as does this quotation from Kenneth Clark's Dark Ghetto:

> No one with a mop can expect respect from a banker or an attorney, or men who create jobs, and all you have is a mop. Are you crazy? Whoever heard of integration between a mop and a banker? Man, age about 38.[1]

While in 1966 there was an orderly gradation of willingness from an academic high through a vocational intermediary position to a dropout low, this situation was modified in 1968 with respect to many activities: the vocationals were most amenable and the academics

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[1]Kenneth B. Clark, Dark Ghetto, (New York: Harper Torchbooks, Harper & Row, 1965), p. 2.

relatively distant. In this regard, as in Black self-identification and policy issues, the vocational's integrative, if not assimilative stance has been noticeable, while often the academics more closely resembled the dropouts in their dissatisfaction. From this we infer that one precondition for biracial harmony is economic security such as the vocationals enjoy. This does not imply that Blacks should settle for a second-class economic status in a dominantly white society. Instead, the only practical and moral solution of the problem of interracial hostility involves the solution of basic economic and political problems. Thus, the roots and ramifications are seen as far deeper and broader than the problems of the educational institutions alone.

Of direct relevance to the schools however, is the 1968 decline in willingness of our respondents to attend predominantly white schools. While over half continued to be a least "somewhat willing" to do so (thus indicating the continued potential for school integration) about one-fourth were to a degree unwilling (thus indicating the potential for resistance from Blacks as well as from white segregationists). Obviously the Black-white population ratio in the United States is too small to accommodate a preference for predominantly Black or half-and-half schools. In addition there are moral and political considerations that argue <u>against</u> separation which must be viewed,in all objectivity,in conjunction with the moral and political considerations <u>in favor of</u> separation.

Traditionally and in the long run, democratic values preclude segregation, whether under the auspices of white racism or Black separatism. Pragmatically, and for a limited period, however, it may be that democratic ends call for exclusive Black community control of Black schools in the already separated ghettoes. At this point in history, some Black spokesmen assert, the development of interracial equality is a prerequisite for any genuinely pluralistic democracy; the development of a proud Black identity is a prerequisite for social equality; self-determination is a prerequisite for the development of this identity.

In rebuttal, others warn that ethnic self-esteem rests on shaky foundations when it can flourish only in an exclusively Black environment. Powerful Black caucuses can extort special concessions for color, and create protected enclaves; but, say some, such exclusivity cannot equip them to live successfully in a single-standard society where they are only a very small minority. In the end school separation results in a disservice to the dignity and valid self-esteem of the Black student.

Apart from these questions of racial self-determination, there is the issue of educational excellence. While many respondents conceded educational advantages in predominantly white schools, they nevertheless preferred Black ones, where the social life was better

and the tuition lower. Others said that the educational superiority of white schools determined their preference concerning the racial composition of schools. They were willing, for the distant rewards of upward mobility, to forego immediate in-group comforts and to risk out-group rebuffs in predominantly white schools. One factor in the suburban-ward movement of higher-income Blacks may be a desire to enroll their children in such schools. This reasoning is further indicated in the declining percentage of Black students choosing primarily Negro colleges from about 60 per cent in 1950 to slightly more than 50 per cent in the mid-sixties.[2]

Some educators, both Black and white, and some Black ideologists insist that educational excellence for Black youth should be sought not by desegregating superior white schools but by improving staff and facilities within Black schools. The rationale for enrichment programs and a compendium of specific measures for providing quality education in ghetto schools are reviewed in the Report of The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.[3] This report concludes, however, that unless we are to have a permanently divided nation, these measures should be regarded only as interim steps toward a basic goal of racial and social-class integration in the schools.

The underlying premise that enrichment programs in ghetto schools can possibly attain academic excellence is challenged in Equality of Educational Opportunity, a comprehensive nation-wide survey with a large variety of educational variables. Coleman and his co-authors contend that a major factor in academic success is not any particular input in per student expenditures, but the cultural affluence of fellow-students. Many critics have challenged the statistics and the statistical interpretations on which this conclusion is based. If it has validity, a wide dispersal of poorly educated Blacks into more promising academic climates would be required. The logistics of accomplishing this dispersal and some of the administrative and attitudinal complications are well known to every newspaper reader.

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[2]A. J. Jaffe, Walter Adams, Sandra G. Meyers, Negro Higher Education in the 1960's (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publisher, 1968), p. 3.

[3]Report of the National Advisory Commission, op. cit., pp. 219-226 and 246-252.

[4]U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, Equality of Educational Opportunity by James S. Coleman (Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1966), p. 302.

In any case, the reluctance of our own respondents to attend predominantly white schools reminds us that the experience of entering a difficult, hostile situation can be traumatic for Black youth. To accommodate for mutual hesitations and to underwrite the success of any school desegregation program, it is absolutely essential to anticipate the risks and plan prophylactic measures.

In addition to the 1968 decline in willingness for certain desegregated school experiences, there is also a marked decline in the willingness score for some work situations. To an extent this may be due to a new Black exclusivity, and a resentment against the white monopoly of economic as well as political power, which is reported in our interviews in addition to the questionnaires. The significance of seeming Black inability to conform to white standards of economic behavior is illustrated in one study of a well-intentioned federal program designed to help lower-class youth find jobs, which failed because Black youth were cynical about playing an employment game for which whites wrote the rules, stacked the cards, and predistributed the chips.[5]

The complex, mutually-contradictory and changing interracial dispositions of Black youth were revealed in their replies to the open-ended question regarding the kinds of whites with whom they were most willing to associate. In 1966, we formulated the theory of the contingency factor to distinguish the interracial attitudes of a minority group from the prejudice of the dominant group. This stated that Negro personal attitudes toward associating with whites were largely dependent upon what whites did and said about associating with Negroes. Not as much as formerly, but to an extent in 1968 also, the Black, nee Negro, waited in his personal contacts for the white cue. However, there was also counter-evidence in 1968, augmented by in-depth interviews of individuals in 1969, of a new pride in race, which enhanced the esteem of self, and led Black youth to assert his own perogatives in setting the terms for interracial association. These new terms screen the racial attitudes of the white but rather than awaiting white willingness, require a mutuality and reciprocity of interest, and personal congeniality.

The many selves of contemporary Black youth are further evidenced in our self-identification data, especially in combination with the findings on social issues. Although by far the highest percentage of our sample identified themselves as "American," it cannot be inferred that they wished to be Americans first and Blacks second, since in many contexts, in-group loyalties had a priority. Both in 1966 and in the later years respondents wrote and spoke of "my own

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[5]David Wellman, "The Wrong Way to Find Jobs for Negroes," Transaction, April 1968, pp. 9-18.

kind." There was a pervasive, growing feeling of "communion"[6] with racial brothers, but this did not presuppose explicit consciousness of race; it is certainly not equated with a commitment to a racially oriented political program. To our respondents, "Black" was not necessarily a fighting word, for those who chose it did not necessarily position themselves outside the "system." In fact, more than half of the self-designated Blacks also called themselves "Negroes" and even more called themselves "American." In further self-identification, a greater proportion of these "Blacks" selected the term "middle-class" than "working class."

Nevertheless, in contrast with self-identified "Negroes," the "Blacks" were less class-aware and less middle-class-identified; they were less willing to associate with whites personally and less "Anglocentric" in their opinion on twenty racial issues. These differentials were consistent, though not great, on such key issues as distrusting whites, and condoning violence, riots, and looting.

For the entire population the most conspicuous characteristics revealed in the replies to the racial statements were ambivalence, moderation and Black-relatedness. Consensus of as much as three-fourths of the sample occurred only on three points: The excessive slowness of the government in pushing equal rights was the most highly endorsed,. The two other statements with high support were illustrative of the duality in Black interracial attitude: "Some whites are sincerely willing to accept Negroes as equals" and "White persons can't really understand what it is like to be a Negro." There was no general agreement on either immediate or long-run political programs and the popular viewpoints on racial issues were the more moderate ones. This does not fit the Black Liberation image of contemporary Black youth, and certainly contradicts the stereotype of them as a monolithic anti-white cadre. It is not surprising that the mass media intensify this stereotype, for merely by definition, the newsworthy overselects the sensational.

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[6]Sociologists, still struggling with interpretations of Black identity, have not yet reached a consensus. The use of the religiously derived term "communion" as distinct from the idea of "race consciousness" has been suggested by at least one sociologist, James P. Pitts. "Communion" seems to be closely related to Durkheim's classic concept "esprit de corps" and Giddings' "consciousness of kind." Other contemporary sociologists have diagrammed the various combinations of pro-Black consciousness on the one hand and attitudes toward integration on the other into patterns varying from assimilation through cultural pluralism to nationalist separation. (Eric R. Krystall, Neil Friedman, Glenn Howze, and Edgar G. Epps, "Attitudes Toward Integration and Black Consciousness: Southern Negro High School Seniors and Their Mothers," paper delivered at the Southern Sociological Society, April 1968, Atlanta Georgia.)

Interviews confirmed the ambiguity of the Black identity, along with its popularity. A variety of race attitudes were enunciated: cynicism mixed with hope; a conviction that things were intolerable and yet that nothing could be done; that violence was undesirable, but yet had some constructive consequences. Few of the youth with whom we talked had participated in racial movements, or even endorsed the exhortations of the militant spokesmen. Still their shared discontent may lead to a vicarious involvement, as Rainwater explains:

> One way out of the situation of impotence and dammed-up in-group aggression is the organization of meaningful protest against the larger society. Such protest can and will take many forms, not always so neat and rational as the outsider might hope. But, coupled with, and supporting, current programs of economic and educational change, involvement of slum Negroes in organizational activity can do a great deal to build a sense of pride and potency. <u>While only a very small minimum of slum Negroes can be expected to participate personally in such movements, the vicarious involvement of the majority can have important effects on their sense of self-respect and worth.</u>[7] (underlining ours)

Even if Black awareness and the Black Liberation movement should change in this decade, they will have left an indelible mark on Americans of African origin. It is not the old "mark of oppression; it is the new mark of assertion. Psychologically the racial role will never be the same, even for those who appear indifferent or actually disavow the protest.

The new Black identity of which our 1968 respondents were only beginning to be conscious, and which our 1969 interviews more strongly affirmed, is a difference which is no longer a deficiency; on the contrary, some flaunt it as a new ethnocentrism. The more articulate contend (in the old Hegelian-Marxian format, though they are neither Hegelians nor Marxists) that the old thesis of white racism can be combatted only by the antithesis of Black separatism, eventually to arrive at a new synthesis of a genuine pluralistic democracy.

This goal of pluralistic democracy, based on equality, is the point at which the schools and the Black youth could converge. Such pluralism contains today's redefinition of "integration," the discredited slogan of another era. The term "integration" connoted Black subordination and assimilation into white society, overlooking past indignities and present Black identity. It is repudiated by proponents of Black Liberation who emphasize that integration is not

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[7]Lee Rainwater, "Crucible of Identity," <u>Daedalus</u>, Vol. 95, No. 1 (Winter 1966), pp. 210-211.

realistic without fundamental racial changes in social and economic status. They also emphasize the importance of Black control of programs for their own emancipation.

Sharing the goals of a pluralistic, authentically integrated, open society, we see desegregation and separatism as alternative methods, intermediate objectives, each having validity in particular situations. Authentic integration is the ultimate objective. It is an aim for the entire society, not just the school. The task of achieving it involves problems which span our entire history, all our institutions, and the whole population. In planning the school's contribution to the joint task, educational awareness must take account of Black awareness.

In line with situational variations and the need for flexibility, these questions are offered as guidelines for any proposed racial reform in education, whether its emphasis be on broad desegregation or on decentralized community control:

> Is it critical of the inequities and prejudices of past institutional arrangements in a white-dominated society?
>
> Is it sensitive to the accumulated needs of a victimized minority?
>
> Does it help to create a society where economic solvency and opportunity are available to all?
>
> Does it respect individual and cultural variations, recognizing that differences are not necessarily deficiencies?
>
> Does it foster enrichment through diversity?

Innovative educational programs meeting these criteria are urgent. Such programs could not only claim, but gain, the support of the large majority of Black youth.

A P P E N D I X A

5/68

Department of Sociology
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ASSOCIATING WITH WHITES

This is a study of attitudes of Negro youths toward white people. We are mainly interested in the total picture rather than the separate answers of any one person. But, it is important that you give your own answers to this questionnaire correctly and fully, because your personal attitudes are a part of this total picture. All questionnaires are confidential and will not be seen by anyone except the research staff. We will not use your name in anything we report.

We hope that this study can help us understand more about race relations in the United States, and eventually improve these relations. Thank you very much for your help.

DIRECTIONS

Our first set of questions will be about your feelings about associating in different ways with white people.

Assume that in each case the whites would be completely willing to associate with Negroes.

On the next sheet as you can see, 15 different kinds of activities are listed. Her are five different terms that tell how you may feel about being together with whites in each of these activities:

4. Completely willing
3. Somewhat willing
2. Not sure
1. Somewhat unwilling
0. Completely unwilling

I will read off each activity. As I do, you will choose the one term that tells best how you would feel about being together with whites in this activity. Than at the right, next to each activity named, you will circle the number of the term you choose.

For example, suppose I asked you how you would feel about going to a party where about half of the guests are white and half of the guests are Negro. This is not one of the questions on the questionnaire but it can be used for illustration. If you would be "completely willing" to do this, you would circle 4. If you would be just "somewhat willing" to do this you would circle 3. If you are "not sure" circle 2; if somewhat unwilling" circle 1; or if "completely unwilling," you would circle 0. Any questions?...

Now, I will read the items; if you come to a problem raise your hand and I will answer your questions one at a time. I will pause for a moment, while you circle your number.

I. DIFFERENT SITUATIONS

USING THE PROPER NUMBER ACCORDING TO THE KEY AT THE RIGHT, PLEASE CIRCLE HOW YOU WOULD FEEL ABOUT:

KEY
4. completely willing
3. somewhat willing
2. unsure
1. somewhat unwilling
0. completely unwilling

1. being a member of a club where most of the members are white. 4 3 2 1 0
2. being a member of a club with some white members, but where most of the members are Negro. 4 3 2 1 0
3. being a member of a club where about half of the members are white and about half are Negro. 4 3 2 1 0
4. marrying a white person 4 3 2 1 0
5. working on a job under a white person 4 3 2 1 0
6. working on a job side by side with a white person 4 3 2 1 0
7. being a member of a church where most of the members are white 4 3 2 1 0
8. being a member of a church where about half of the members are white and about half are Negro. 4 3 2 1 0
9. being a member of a church with some white members, but where most of the members are Negro. 4 3 2 1 0
10. dating a white person. 4 3 2 1 0
11. having a close friend who is white 4 3 2 1 0
12. having a school teacher who is white. 4 3 2 1 0
13. going to a school where most of the students are white 4 3 2 1 0
14. going to a school where about half of the students are white, and about half are Negro. 4 3 2 1 0
15. going to a school with some white students, but where most of the students are Negro. 4 3 2 1 0

II. DIFFERENT KINDS OF PEOPLE

The questions you have just answered tell how you would feel about associating with most whites in different kinds of activities. Now, please tell us:

1. Do you feel the say way towards all white people? Yes___No___
   If "no' - then
   a. With what kinds of white people would you be most <u>willing</u> to associate?

_____

_____

_____

b. With what kinds of white people would you be most unwilling to associate?

_____

_____

_____

The questions you have just answered tell how you feel about associating with different kinds of white people. Now just two questions about associating with different kinds of Negroes.

2. Do you feel the same way towards all Negroes? Yes___ No___
   a. With what kinds of Negroes would you be most willing to associate?

      _____

      _____

      _____

   b. With what kinds of Negroes would you be most unwilling to associate?

      _____

      _____

      _____

III. BIOGRAPHY

As you have been told, your questionnaire is confidential. It will not be seen by anyone except the research staff. Your name will not be used in any report. But we want to interview personally about 10% of those who filled out the questionnaire. This would help us better understand how people are thinking and feeling. It may also be an interesting experience for you. If you are willing to participate in such a personal interview, please write your name, address and home phone number (if any) here:

NAME_____
ADDRESS_____
HOME TELEPHONE NUMBER_____

1. Your age_____
2. Your sex: Male___Female___
3. Are you now married? Yes___No___
4. Birthplace: City (or town)_____and state_____
5. I think of myself as: (Circle the letter next to all the terms that fit you)
   a. American
   b. working class
   c. rich
   d. Black
   e. lower class
   f. Afro-American
   g. middle class
   h. colored person
   i. Black American
   j. Negro
   k. upper class

1. poor
m. Other What?_____

6. In your home, who acts as the mother? (Circle one letter)
   a. your own mother
   b. stepmother or foster-mother
   c. aunt
   d. grandmother
   e. sister
   f. other Who?_____
   g. no one
7. For the woman named above, please circle the number which shows the highest year of school she completed:

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4 5-or more
grammar school	high	college

8. Does the woman you named above work outside the home? (Circle one or more letters.)
   a. yes, full time
   b. yes, part time
   c. no, retired or unable to work
   d. no, but looking for work
   e. no, but not looking for work because_____
   f. there is no one acting as a mother in my household.
9. When this woman works (or worked) what is (or was) her main occupation? Please tell about the kind of work, not the place of work.

_____

_____

10. In your home, who acts as the father? (Circle one letter)
    a. your father
    b. your stepfather or foster-father
    c. your uncle
    d. your grandfather
    e. your brother
    f. other Who?_____
    g. no one
11. For the man named above, please circle last year of school completed:

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4 5-or more
grammar school	high school	college

12. Does the man named above work outside the home? (Circle one or more letters)
    a. yes, full time
    b. yes, part time
    c. no, retired or unable to work
    d. no, but looking for work
    e. no, but not looking for work because_____
    f. there is no one acting as a father in my household.
13. When the man named above works (or worked) what is (or was) his main occupation? Please tell about the kind of work, not the place of work.

_____

14. Does any of your family's income (money) come from? (Circle one or more letters)
    A. father's work
    b. mother's work
    c. your work
    d. work of other people who live in your home. Who?_____
    e. welfare
    f. others who do not live in your home. Who?_____
15. If you were able to go into any kind of life work you wanted to, what occupation would you choose? (Please tell about the kind of work, not the place of work.)

    _____
    _____
16. Please circle the last year of school you completed.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4
grammar school	high school

17. If you could choose, what would you like to be doing next year? (Circle one or more letters.)
    a. go to school (check one of the following)
        1. __Business college __full time __part time
        2. __Technical school __full time __part time
        3. __Two year college __full time __part time
        4. __Four year college __full time __part time
        5. __Other - What?_____
    b. get a job. What kind?_____
    c. get married
    d. enter the service
    e. other. What?_____
    f. don't know
18. If you don't think you can get to do next year what you would like, please say why not.

    _____
    _____
19. What do you think you will actually be doing next year? (Circle one or more letters)
    a. go to school (check one of the following)
        1. __Business college __full time __part time
        2. __Technical school __full time __part time
        3. __Two year college __full time __part time
        4. __Four year college __full time __part time
        5. __Other - What?_____
    b. get a job. What kind?_____
    c. get married
    d. enter the service
    e. other. What?_____
    f. don't know
20. (Optional) In what religion were you raised? (Circle one letter)
    a. None
    b. Baptist
    c. Catholic
    d. Episcopalian
    e. Methodist
    f. Muslim
    g. Other. Which?_____

21. (Optional) What is your religion now?
    a. None
    b. Baptist
    c. Catholic
    d. Episcopalian
    e. Methodist
    f. Muslim
    g. Other. Which?_____

22. We'd like to know about the personal dealings you have had at any time with any white people. Have there ever been any white persons who (Circle one or more letters)
    a. went to same school
    b. were neighbors
    c. were members in any clubs or organizations to which you belong
    d. were friends with whom you mixed socially in your home, their home or anywhere else
    e. at work (check one or more of the following)
        1. __your boss
        2. __somebody you supervised
        3. __as an equal
    f. other contacts with whites. What?_____
    g. no personal dealings with whites.

IV. RACE ISSUES

USING THE PROPER NUMBER AT THE RIGHT PLEASE CIRCLE THE ONE TERM THAT TELLS BEST HOW YOU FEEL ABOUT EACH OF THE STATEMENTS BELOW. [IN ANY STATEMENT "BLACK" MAY BE USED INSTEAD OF "NEGRO".]

4. Strongly Agree
3. Somewhat Agree
2. Not Sure
1. Somewhat Disagree
0. Strongly Disagree

1.	Some whites are sincerely willing to accept Negroes as equals.	4 3 2 1 0
2.	Voting is an important way to get equal rights.	4 3 2 1 0
3.	Looting is just "getting even with Whitey" who has cheated Negroes.	4 3 2 1 0
4.	Regardless how much money or education a Negro gets, he is not accepted the same as whites.	4 3 2 1 0
5.	The government is too slow in pushing equal rights for Negroes.	4 3 2 1 0
6.	Non-violent demonstrations are important ways of getting equal rights.	4 3 2 1 0
7.	In Negro communities, Negroes should own and operate their own businesses, banks, schools, etc.	4 3 2 1 0
8.	Anyone who is willing to work hard can get ahead in the U.S.	4 3 2 1 0
9.	Racial problems should be left to the courts and Congress.	4 3 2 1 0
10.	White persons can't really understand what it is like to be a Negro.	4 3 2 1 0

11.	Negroes cannot be equal until there is complete mixing of the races through intermarriage.	4 3 2 1 0
12.	Most whites want to keep the Negro down.	4 3 2 1 0
13.	Private property owners should have the right to refuse to sell to Negroes if they want to do so.	4 3 2 1 0
14.	Riots and violence are necessary for Negro progress.	4 3 2 1 0
15.	Low class Negroes have nothing to offer society.	4 3 2 1 0
16.	Looting is bad even when everyone is doing it.	4 3 2 1 0
17.	Negroes cannot be free until they have a country of their own.	4 3 2 1 0
18.	Middle-class Negroes are not doing their part to help poor Negroes.	4 3 2 1 0
19.	Negro soldiers in Vietnam have as much to gain or lose as white soldiers in Vietnam	4 3 2 1 0
20.	Mostly, things are getting better for Negroes in this country.	4 3 2 1 0

APPENDIX B

NAME OF INTERVIEWER_____ TIME STARTED_____

DATE_____ TIME ENDED_____

PLACE_____

Howard University
Dr. S. F. McDowell
3/10/69

Willingness of Negro High School Students and Dropouts to Associate with Whites - 1968

INTERVIEW ANALYSIS SHEET

(To be filled in immediately following the interview)

I. Subject identification

Name_____

Schedule #_____

Address_____

Telephone_____

Notes on contacting (re. efforts made, incidental information gained during efforts, degree of responsiveness. Also, if this is not an original appointment but a re-appointment, please explain.)

_____

_____

Why selected?_____

_____

II. Impression of subject

Appearance_____

General manner_____

Attitude toward interview_____

Attitude toward interviewer_____

III. Overall Impression of Interview

Rapport_____

Consistency between interview and questionnaire_____

Reliability_____

Enjoyability_____

FURTHER COMMENTS:

TO BE FILLED IN BY INTERVIEW ANALYSTS

RELEVANCY TO HYPOTHESIS

Specific evidence

Denying evidence

Modifying evidence

Unevaluated evidence

Howard University
Dr. S. F. McDowell

Willingness of Negro High School Students and Dropouts to Associate with Whites - 1968

OUTLINE FOR FOLLOW-UP INTERVIEWS

I. Review of respondent's ratings on specific items of attitudes questionnaire.
   a. Interracial activities rejected,
      respondent's explanation for rejecting particular activities.
      relevant experiences, if any.
   b. Interracial activities acceptable,
      respondent's explanation for accepting particular activities,
      relevant experiences, if any.
   c. Discrepancies, if any, between ratings on questionnaire and later
      ratings or comments during interview
      explanation of discrepancy.
   d. Patterns of acceptance,
      apparent pattern, if any,
      inconsistent or unexpected replies.

II. Review of respondent's questionnaire replies regarding "different kinds" of whites
   a. clarification of "liked" and "disliked" categories,
   b. proportion of whites in each category
   c. proportion of Negroes in same or similar categories - if relevant
   d. images and stereotypes of whites
   e. relevant experiences with whites of each kind
   f. "sensitive" activities - those rejected with regard to some whites, but not with regard to others.

III. Review of background questionnaire
   A. Verification of routine identifying data (e.g., age, sex, marital status, birthplace).
   B. Respondent's class self-designation.
      1. discrepancy between self-designation on questionnaire and later self-designation during interview
      2. respondent's description of class structure in which he fits
         a. what classes does he name?
         b. criteria for each class
         c. does this description apply exclusively to Negro community? to total white and Negro United States? to particular region, neighborhood? other?
         d. distinctions between Negro community's class structure and that of whites. (Indicate which comments are spontaneously offered and which are elicited by interview questions).

3. Rationale for self-designation made

C. Respondent's race self-designation
   1. What kind of people are likely to select these? Why? does he prefer the designations he himself selected?
   2. What does he think of the designations he did not select for himself?
   3. How long has he preferred these designations?

IV. The mother person
   A. Verify answers to 6, 7, 8, and 9; note reliability or inconsistencies, clarify and complete as needed.
   B. Try to get a picture of her role in the family and in shaping attitudes; e.g. has she had much to do with whites? What does she think of them? Has she influenced interviewee on this score? Directly? Indirectly?

V. The father person
   A. Verify answers to 10, 11, 12, and 13; note reliability or inconsistencies, clarify and complete as needed.
   B. Try to get a picture of his role in the family and in shaping attitudes; e.g., has he had much to do with whites? What does he think of them? Has he influenced interviewee on this score? Directly? Indirectly?

VI. Educational and Vocational Aspirations
   A. Verify answers to 17, 18, and 19. Clarify and/or complete as needed for the data of the questionnaire
   B. How have these aspirations and expectations been changed?
   C. Which of these intentions have already been carried out? Which have not?
   D. What is the interviewee's own feeling about where he stands in terms of personal contentment, ambition, self-esteem?
   E. If he is satisfied, does he think in terms of future prospects? What are they?
   F. If he is dissatisfied, does he think in terms of future prospects? What are they?

VII. Religion.
   A. Verification and, if needed, clarification of questionnaire information.
   B. Value placed on church
      1. frequency of attendance
      2. what does he get out of it; e.g., How important is religion to you?
   C. Value placed on religion.
   D. Does he see any relationship of religion and/or church to interracial attitudes. What?

VIII. Personal dealings with whites (Verify & clarify)

A. If there were white fellow students at school, what was the nature of actual personal associations with them?
   1. inside school - regularity, number of whites involved, particular activities, intimacy, duration. (Objectify)
   2. outside of school - regularity, number of whites involved, particular activities, intimacy, duration. (Objectify)
   3. feelings about these personal associations - favorable, unfavorable
   4. effect of these associations on present willingness to associate with whites

B. If there were white teachers in school, what was interviewee's feelings about them?
   1. judgment of white teacher's professional competence: comparison with Negro teachers.
   2. judgment of white teacher's fairness toward Negroes
   3. effect of contact with white teacher on present willingness to associate with adult whites.

C. If there were white neighbors, assess the interrelationship
   1. Racial composition of area
   2. Frequency and/or intimacy of contacts with whites (as compared to Negro neighbors: as compared with preferred intimacy).
   3. Is attitude toward these white neighbors individual or racial?
   4. How have neighborhood experiences affected present willingness to associate with whites in other situations?

D. Participation in interracial clubs
   1. Nature of club or organization (social, political, civic, etc.)
   2. Extent of participation in these clubs or organizations Intensity of personal association with whites
   3. Effect, if any, on interracial attitudes. (Preferences for separatism, pluralism, etc.

E. If these were with friends
   1. Intimacy, frequency of contact. An assessment of feelings towards these persons
   2. Individual or racial? (Listen for comments: try to elicit comments by indirect questioning. Only if these methods fail, ask an open-ended, non-leading question.)

F. At work
   1. as equal? as supervisor/boss? as subordinate?
   2. experiences
   3. feelings

G. Other significant contacts with whites - both individual and collective. Specify.
   1. Favorable experiences
      a. nature of experience

b. effect on present interracial attitudes
2. Unfavorable experiences.
a. nature of experience
b. effect on present interracial attitudes.

IX. Developmental history of respondent's interracial attitudes
A. Family conditioning and experiences
1. parents' feelings
2. parents' teachings
3. other important memories
B. Pre-school experiences outside of home
C. School experiences not covered above, under VI
D. Other group experiences and cultural influences not covered above, e.g.
1. region
2. class
3. other reference groups
4. mass media
5. other

X. Self-assessment with regard to interracial attitudes
A. Similar or different from average Negro
1. in what way?
2. why?
B. Similar or different from average member of his school or dropout group
1. in what way?
2. why?
C. Similar or different from other Negroes with whom respondent chooses to compare himself
1. reference groups or individuals chosen for comparison
2. in what way is respondent different?
3. why?

XI. Any questions respondent would like to ask interviewer?

XII Race Issues
A. Present rating on Items 1 - 20
B. Queries re differences between 2 schedules
1. Are differences due to change?
2. If due to change, what influences presently are operative?

APPENDIX C

METHODOLOGICAL DISCUSSION

Pattern-Seeking in Survey Research

The reliability and validity of the patterns which emerge from our data are confirmed by replication. Nevertheless they must, to a degree, distort reality in the process of systematizing it, for each respondent is an individual who plays roles and holds attitudes which are multiple, dynamic and even mutually contradictory. Our research instrument, the questionnaire, consists of a particular series of queries which, while related to each other, abstract a limited facet of behavior from its total context, and at a particular point in time. At best the social survey is a camera of still films, each mirroring only a segment of the respondent's changing attitudes and group roles. And each group in which he acts is one of many, a moving stream of time, a swirling pool of circumstances that modify him as he passes through. The fact that patterns, by their very nature, imply stability and congruity, while human behavior is often unstable and incongruous, makes them deceptive.

In this study we have tried to recognize in advance the inevitable faults of our pattern-seeking scientific method, and to a degree, to compensate. For example, replication doubles the number of points in time for which data become available; asking about willingness to associate in a particular kind of group but with three varying racial compositions of that group, triples the number of situations and sharpens the focus; querying about inclinations in personal and collective contexts multiplies access to different facets of interracial attitudes, while the personal interviews which follow the questionnaire reveal the individual irregularities within the group patterns we have noted. However, no degree or kind of modification can totally compensate for the fact that a systematic survey cannot encompass all the ifs, ands, and buts of human life.

To these limitations of survey research are added the basic inadequacy of attitudes as a reliable index of behavior. We do recognize the imperfect connection between a specific opinion and an action in which the opinion may be one, but only one component. Nevertheless, we seek out the opinion component because it is better than none at all. Attitudes or at least statements of attitudes, are more accessible and measurable than behavior itself. If honest, they do reveal a value orientation whose understanding is vital to an understanding of behavior. An explicit recognition of the limitations of attitude research will minimize its misuse and enhance its value.

Uni-Disciplinary Character of Sociological Research

Beyond these sociological faults of commission are the faults of omission, the fact that sociology as a single discipline underplays the influences on which other disciplines concentrate. For example, we have not adequately assessed how economic conditions affect the attitudes we studies. We know that throughout history economic conditions have often been the causes from which social relations have resulted, or at least that economic and social components have been interactive and circular. In a sociological investigation which is not multidisciplinary, the economic components are underestimated as are others, such as the psychological and the psychoanalytic.

Statistical Methodology

In the present study we have not attempted to present either sampling variances of the responses to the individual questions which are the components of the willingness indexes or statistical tests of significance for the observed differences in response to those questions among various subgroups in the sample. This omission reflects, in considerable part, a feeling that in the present study such statistical tests are not required and perhaps even not appropriate. The rationale for this position was first stated in the now well known methodological note by Lipset, Trow, and Coleman to their volume, Union Democracy and has been the subject of a series of discussions in the American Sociological Review, commencing with Selvin's article, "A Critique of Tests of Significance in Survey Research."[1]

Our own study explores an involved network of interrelated hypotheses by the use of instruments that indirectly get at the basic attitude we seek to identify and understand. It is when the successive readings reiterate the same general direction that we have confidence in a pattern and a trend. Of course, one should not assume a particular small difference has by itself any significance, statistical or sociological.

The Open-Ended Question

As explained in Chapter V the question about what "kinds of whites" the respondent was willing to associate with was deliberately worded in broad terms to avoid prejudging his frame of reference.

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[1]See S. M. Lipset, M. A. Trow and J. S. Coleman, Union Democracy, (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956), pp. 427-432; H. C. Selvin, "A Critique of Tests of Significance in Survey Research," American Sociological Review, 22: 1957, pp. 519-527.

In setting up the 1966 code, and in the only slightly revised 1968 form, we distinguished a dozen or so specific categories of replies which were than combined into three main categories: racial, personal and class criteria. It was on the basis of this formulation and the preponderant replies in the racial category that we derived the contingency concept. In 1968 we found that the distribution of replies closely paralleled those of 1966. We noted however that within the 1968 interracial category only a portion of the replies expressed a contingency factor, while others stipulated that the Black would set the terms for the white's acceptability, not wait for the white to set the terms of the Black's acceptability, and that these terms would relate to the white's racial viewpoint. Our tabulations do not adequately reflect this intra-category change.

Moreover, there are often difficulties in drawing lines between categories. To separate racial and personal considerations is not always possible in a racial society. What starts out as private may take on racial overtones. What starts out as a racial judgment may distort into a personal one. The personal and racial interchange with each other.

To an extent this overlap also applies with regard to the separation of items into personal and class categories. In a sociological frame of reference, all attitudes and personal standards are social in derivation. Nothing is purely individual. Presumably personal traits are, to an indeterminate degree, reflective of some class or group.

This sociological perspective makes it impossible to avoid ambiguity in coding the answers to the open-ended questions.

Relevance of Findings to United States, 1970

Our sample properly represents the population of the age, date and area from which it was drawn. While follow-up interviews in 1969 gave some evidence of what we called a "Blackward" trend without contradicting the essential finding of moderation in political stance noted earlier, we can only guess that this marks a trend line extending and escalating into 1970.

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